

# IN THESE TIMES

Alvah Bessie  
Spain  
The hesitation waltz

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40 Cent

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Photo by Lionel Delevingne



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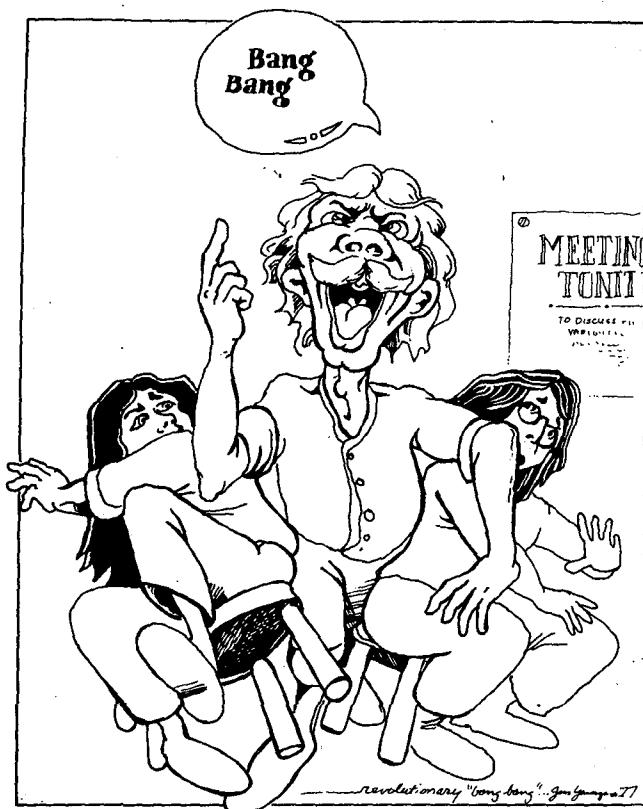
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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



## City Hall socialism: Berkeley left back to drawing boards

*Between the money they had and the friends we had, how could we win?*

—John Denton, Berkeley  
city councilman and leader  
of Berkeley's Citizen's Action

Interest in last month's Berkeley city council election was not confined to Berkeley. The *Wall Street Journal* editorialized against Berkeley Citizen's Action for advocating rent control, publicly owned utilities and banks, and a progressive local income tax. California realtors, through the California Housing Council, pumped over \$100,000 into the campaign to defeat the BCA candidates and the rent control initiative they backed.

The Campaign for Economic Democracy, a California organization that emerged from last year's Tom Hayden Senate race, made the campaign a priority. And leftists from around the country, some of whom continue to see Berkeley as a bellwether of the left's possibilities, watched the results anxiously.

With three members already on the nine member city council, the BCA slate was widely expected to win its long sought majority. In 1975, BCA candidates had finished 1-2, and in the 1976 county, state, and congressional races, BCA-linked candidates won easily. Even Mark Allen, the black Communist party member whose bid to get BCA's nomination had split the organization and led to an unfilled fourth slot on the BCA slate, was given an outside chance of winning.

But the BCA candidates were soundly defeated by their moderate democrat opponents, rent control lost by almost two to one and Mark Allen came in far behind the BCA candidates.

### ►A disturbing pattern.

From this defeat, a disturbing pattern emerges. In 1971, the April Coalition, the precursor of BCA, won three out of the four seats up for election. In 1973, with a majority on the council at their fingertips, the Coalition could only win one seat against a united opposition. In 1975, as the underdog opposition, the newly formed BCA sparkled. In 1977, as the favorite, it fizzled.

Two factors seem to be at work. As the threat of a left majority nears, the right unites and throws large sums of money into the campaign. In the 1977 campaign, the estimated \$150,000 that the right spent, against BCA's \$20,000, is seen, along with the low voter turnout in student precincts, as the major reason for BCA's defeat.

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But the promise of majority rule also had a deleterious effect on BCA. While political differences always existed within the coalition, they were muted in the interests of unity when the BCA was the minority underdog. But with a majority at hand in 1973 and 1977, the coalition split into two warring camps over questions of strategy, weakening the subsequent campaigns. In 1973, the April Coalition fell apart after the campaign, and the same fate may now await BCA.

The debate has been the same both years. While most BCA members are socialists, one side sees itself as "left" and the other as "right." The "left" accuses the "right," led by the BCA's incumbent city council representatives, of being "opportunists" willing to sacrifice principle for immediate victory. The "right" sees the "left" as "ideologues" determined to advance their slogans and programs regardless of the immediate effect on the constituencies BCA is supposed to represent. After each election, the two sides have quarrelled about who those constituencies are.

This year both sides undoubtedly contributed to BCA's confusion and disunity, but from what can be gathered, first prize must go to the self-proclaimed left.

### ►Anti-anti-communism.

This year's split was initially provoked by the argument over Mark Allen's candidacy and by the wording of the rent control initiative.

Support for Allen's candidacy came from Communists in BCA, those who supported him regardless of the party, and others who thought he had to be supported against what they saw as red-baiting from the right, which refused to support Allen because he was a Communist. The anti-anti-Communists saw the issue to be liberals buckling, 1950s-style, in the face of anti-communism.

The compromise of not running anybody to oppose Allen but not including him in the slate did not satisfy some among these, who either sat out the election or worked for Allen alone. And the bitterness remained throughout the campaign and will color BCA's future.

It is one thing, however, to oppose government attacks on the Communists' rights, including the right to run in elections, and another thing to support and defend their candidacy as part of a left electoral coalition that carries within it the dream of a new society. The American Communists, unlike the Italians, have not proven their independence or their commitment to democracy. Much of the distrust visited upon them remains warranted.

With a Communist on their slate, BCA members would have had to defend not merely the party's right to run in elections, but its policies as a party. They had reason not to want to do this.

### ►Ruling class homeowners.

The rent control issue was even more disastrous for BCA. When the rent control initiative was being written, the "left" argued that it should apply to all landlords rather than simply to the large apartment owners who were primarily responsible for Berkeley's high rents. The "left" also argued for making the renter's income a factor in determining rents. Because of their greater support within the tenant movement, they got their way.

The resulting initiative became an albatross around the BCA's neck, making it harder for them to appeal to Berkeley's many homeowners and even to students, who were confused by opposition arguments that landlords would refuse to rent to low-income people if rent depended on income. BCA's efforts to say that a rent control board would, of course, treat differently large landlords and people renting out a room in their house fell largely on deaf ears.

In the campaign's aftermath, some BCA members laid the blame on the rent control initiative for narrowing BCA's following. But others on the "left" turned the argument on its head. The initiative's defeat showed that people in Berkeley had become "just too comfortable," one activist told *IN THESE TIMES*. Another BCA member explained the low student turnout and relative lack of enthusiasm for rent control as the result of the fact that "students basically identify with the ruling class and want to be part of that class."

Of course, these were the same students and citizens who gave Tom Hayden and Ron Dellums overwhelming majorities. But in the face of opposition, the Berkeley radical will often transform complicated class alignments and political sentiments into new simplified versions of "us" versus "them."

The same process was at work in the labels with which the "left" described itself and its opposition, including the labels of "left" and "right" themselves.

### ►Socialism in one city.

An underlying cause of the ensuing debate within BCA and this false polarization between left and right has been the constraints in which the Berkeley left has found itself—with programs and ideals that as yet have only limited support elsewhere in the country. As a result, Berkeley leftists have turned to their city as a potential model for socialism in a sea of capitalism.

The perils of this approach became apparent during the campaign in the controversy over *The Cities' Wealth*, a pamphlet produced by five BCA members. The pamphlet calls for public ownership of the city's utilities, land and housing, a city bank, and a progressive income tax.

While attempting to discourage the flight of industry through special penalties, the program, presumably in the interests of model-building, does not attempt to attract it or even to reassure businesses that remain. (It could be argued, for instance, that lower electric, gas, and phone rates would benefit industry.) This omission vitiates the otherwise positive aspects of the program and consigns *The Cities' Wealth* to the library of utopian socialism.

In the capitalist U.S., economic growth and employment still depend largely on private initiative. With growing unemployment in the cities, any program that does not deal with this job crisis is bound to be rejected.

Berkeley has not been untouched by unemployment and by a loss of industrial jobs. During the campaign, the opposition used the connection between the candidates and *The Cities' Wealth* to accuse the BCA of indifference to Berkeley's job problems.

To appease on side of the coalition, the candidates responded by denying they had ever read it. To appease the other, they privately assured the press that they were critical of it.

Caught between both sides of the coalition without a program of their own, the candidates could only appear confused.

This confusion will only finally disappear when socialism assumes its rightful place in American politics as a movement to change the whole society rather than one city. In the meantime, organizations like BCA will have to tread a fine line between "left" and "right." ■

### Correction:

In the May 3-9 issue of *IN THESE TIMES*, Helen Kramer is quoted in "The Inside Story" as preferring quotas rather than tariffs as means of solving the threat of imports to American jobs. Kramer's quote appears out of context—she was explaining the reason that others held this position—and it should not be seen as her own position.

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### EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, *Editor*, M.J. Sklar, *Associate Editor*, Doyle Niemann, *Managing Editor*, John Judis, *Foreign News*, Janet Stevenson, *Culture*, Judy MacLean, Dan Marshall, David Moberg, *National Staff*, Bill Burr, Keenen Peck, Steve Rosswurm, *Library*.

### ART

Jane Melnick, *Art and Photography*, Kerry Tremain, *Design*, Jim Rinnert, *Composition*, Susan Pearson, Jerry Sontag, *Production Assistants*.

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### BUSINESS

Judee Gallagher, *Advertising / Business*, Torie Osborn, *Circulation*, Carol Becker, *Office Manager*.

### BUREAUS

SAN FRANCISCO: Claire Greensfelder, Joel Parker, 4120 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609, (415) 658-6754. SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 111, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404) 881-1689.

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# IN THE NATION

## NUCLEAR POWER

# Grassroots come to Seabrook

By Marc Gunther

Seabrook, N.H. Nearly 2,500 antinuclear activists committed to non-violent civil disobedience occupied the site of a nuclear power plant under construction here last week in the largest mass action against nuclear power yet seen in the U.S. Before it was over about 1,500 had been arrested by police.

The demonstrators failed to achieve their stated goal—to remain on the site until plans for the \$2 billion power-generating facility are cancelled—but they succeeded in introducing tactics of mass direct resistance into a movement that up to now has concentrated on regulatory agencies and the courts to halt the spread of nuclear power.

"We aren't looking for Presidents to turn policy around," said Harvey Wasserman of the Clamshell Alliance, the group that organized the protest. "We're going to turn it around from the grass roots."

The mostly young demonstrators came from the Midwest and South as well as from New England. Some were veterans of the antiwar movement or members of multi-issue political groups, but many had never participated in a demonstration before.

Equipped with backpacks, tents and food to last several days, they converged on Seabrook, one of the little summer resort and fishing towns that line the 18-mile coast of New Hampshire. Aristotle Onassis once sought unsuccessfully to develop a massive oil refinery here, and in March 1976 Seabrook residents showed they were no happier about nuclear plans by voting 768-632 at a town meeting to oppose the power plant. In town meetings this past March seven nearby towns passed similar resolutions (see IN THESE TIMES, Feb. 16-22).

### ►Safety and environmental concerns.

Besides voicing the often heard concerns about nuclear safety and wastes, seacoast residents have objected strongly to the cooling system proposed for the plant's twin reactors. The system, which would draw 1.2 billion gallons of water a day into the plant and return it to the sea at a temperature 39 degrees warmer, will ruin the region's fishing industry, especially soft-shell clam beds offshore, they say. They also fear the plant will keep tourists away.

Local groups such as the Seacoast Anti-Pollution League have raised these environmental issues during the licensing process with some success. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, in fact, has limited most construction at the site because of questions about the cooling system. But despite those successes, many activists have grown frustrated with the workings of agencies like the NRC that, they say, promote nuclear energy rather than protect the public interest.

The Clamshell Alliance, formed in part out of those frustrations, organized the first occupations of the plant last summer. Those occupations resulted in nearly 200 arrests and jail sentences of up to three months for some persons. This time, using as a model an occupation that halted plans for a nuclear reactor in West Germany, Clamshell organized a mass protest.

The organizing process itself represented a significant achievement, as more than 2,000 occupiers were trained in techniques of non-violent civil disobedience. Groups like the American Friends Service Committee conducted workshops throughout the region to prepare for the Seabrook action.

The training included discussions of the history of the antinuclear movement, mock confrontations with police and practical advice about containing heck-



The order and organization of the demonstrators was impressive to all. Their multi-colored tents formed neat rows along hastily named "streets" (above). The severity with which they were treated after their initial arrest, as well as the high bails imposed was due to the intervention of New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson (below).

lers, coping with tear gas—"It hurts but you can survive it. I did in the army."—and managing water supplies after occupation. During last-minute preparations Saturday morning in an apple orchard not far from the site, a workshop leader grinned widely and told protestors to respond with "open faces" rather than tight frowns when confronted with threats of violence.

"Those of us who have been angrier in the past feel that's not the way to accomplish things now," said Elizabeth Boardman, a 60-year-old Quaker from Acton, Mass. "Trying to fight it out with the cops or guards didn't accomplish anything."

### ►Impressive organization.

There was very little anger, and there were no fights at all at Seabrook. The well-organized demonstrators—including some who had been ferried across a marsh by friendly lobstermen—met no resistance as they entered the 715-acre plant site. Later, occupiers stood at barbed-wire fences and chatted amiably with state troopers guarding construction equipment on the other side.

The demonstrators had approached the site from four separate directions with the largest group—about 1,000—converging on the main gate where a handful of private security guards stood waiting. It was an emotional moment for many as they marched in twos and threes onto the plant site chanting "the Seabrook nuke, the people will stop it." Some joined a banjo player in "This Land is Your Land."

As each contingent reached the target destination—a dusty, rocky parking lot near the center of the site—they were greeted with hugs and cheers by earlier arrivals. Exhausted and sometimes mud-died by treks through the salt marshes, they set up camp, even naming the "streets" formed by neat rows of multi-colored tents. The residents of the new

community of Seabrook then passed around granola, dug latrines and voted to ban nuclear power from their midst as police watched from helicopters circling above.

If the scene resembled a bluegrass festival or be-in, there was nonetheless impressive organization beneath the surface. Rules were laid down by Clamshell: no drugs or alcohol, no weapons, no property destruction. "Security guards" from support groups stationed a mile away at the main gate controlled access to the plant site.

Organized in collectives of 10 to 20 people called "affinity groups," the demonstrators chose representatives, or "spokes," to a decision making body (DMB) that would debate logistics and political tactics. The members of individual affinity groups had been trained together, and now they shared food and tents. "There's no one here by himself," one protestor said.

It was difficult to generalize about the politics of the demonstrators, though all were clearly united in their opposition to nuclear power. One group of Boston-based community organizers drafted a working paper with "friendly criticism" of the Clamshell for being a one-issue organization. A Washington group called Environmentalists for Full Employment distributed a detailed report on jobs and energy. And a New Paltz, N.Y., man made a poster showing how to design a solar-heated home.

### ►Understand larger political issues.

Nearly everyone who talked to IN THESE TIMES about the demonstration was impressed with the politics implicit in the democratic organization and unity at the site. And despite the single-issue focus of Clamshell, Wasserman asserted that "most people here understand the link between ecology and larger political issues."

The beginning of the end came shortly after noon Sunday when a group of six demonstrators—chosen carefully from

the DMB to represent different constituencies—succeeded in obtaining a meeting with Gov. Meldrim Thomson, who had been brought by helicopter to the site. An arch-conservative who had earlier warned that the occupation could be a cover for "terrorist" activities, Thomson now commended the Clamshell for their peacefulness, but urged everyone to leave the site quietly or face arrest.

"You have no right under the constitution to violate the laws. We cannot tolerate that," Thomson said during a polite meeting with the delegation. "This is, as you know, Law Day." Replied one protestor: "It's also Mayday."

Col. Paul A. Doyon, the state police commander, promised that the arrests would be as orderly as possible after the demonstrators said they would remain on the site. "We try to be humane with everyone we deal with," he said. "But our responsibility is clear cut under the law."

Police then issued a warning over a loudspeaker, and the demonstrators began preparing for the arrests. They packed their gear and huddled in tight circles by affinity group, some hugging one another. Others sang "We Shall Overcome."

At about 3:45 p.m. state police dressed in normal duty gear emerged from five school buses that had been driven onto the site. They began the methodical process of making the arrests that would eventually last through the night. The protestors remained seated in small groups; some went limp when they were seized while others cooperated with the troopers. None resisted and the arrests were generally peaceful. At one point, Col. Doyon consoled a teenage girl who sat terrified, crying.

### ►Problems after arrest.

Problems began when arrested demonstrators were bussed to four armories around the state to spend the night. There, some were held in buses and trucks and denied access to water, food, toilet facilities, telephone and legal counsel. Clamshell organizers attributed the sudden shift in treatment to the fact that Gov. Thomson took charge at the armories.

"Some people were locked in the back of a truck for about 15 hours," Sam Lovejoy of Clamshell said Tuesday. "The conditions are awful, totally disgusting." Lovejoy helped introduce civil disobedience to the anti-nuke movement in New England in 1973 when he overturned a weather tower on the site of a proposed nuclear plant in Montague, Mass.

At the time of this writing, Clamshell is preparing to go to court to seek release on personal recognizance for all first-time offenders, without regard to residence. New Hampshire judges had been setting bonds of \$100 to \$250 for out-of-state residents. Meanwhile, most of the protestors are maintaining "bail solidarity" by refusing to leave until all are released on recognizance. Most face charges of criminal trespass, a misdemeanor carrying possible penalties of a year in jail and \$1,000 fine.

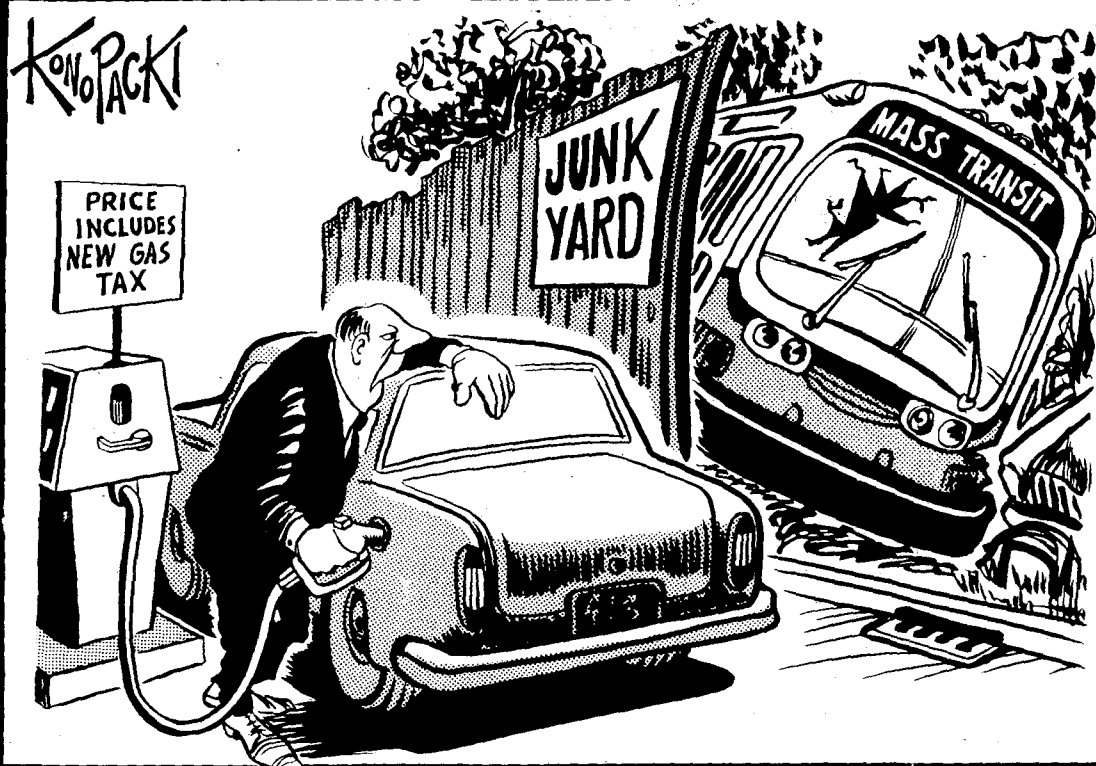
Court processes will continue this week with appearances scheduled for hundreds of protestors. Many are likely to appeal to higher courts and seek trial by jury, where they hope to raise the issue of nuclear power. Nearly all vowed to continue the fight until the Seabrook plant—now a focus of national and worldwide attention, and a symbol of resistance to the nuclear industry—is stopped.

"We accomplished everything we set out to do and more, in terms of raising consciousness about nuclear power and building a long-term movement to fight it," Robin Reid of Clamshell said after it was all over. "And we shall return."

Marc Gunther is a reporter living in Manchester, Conn.



## ENERGY



## Crisis not of energy but politics

On April 20 President Carter unveiled his energy policy. Claiming that the age of cheap energy is over and that the energy crisis is the greatest crisis to face the country since war, the president called on the nation to show moral integrity and make sacrifices (IN THESE TIMES, April 27-May 3).

In the following interview, conducted by Liberation News Service in New York, Robert Engler—author of *The Politics of Oil* and a new book, *The Brotherhood of Oil: Energy Policy and the Public Interest*—analyzes the impact of Carter's program.

**Q: What are your general feelings about the Carter energy proposal?**

**A:** I welcome the Carter administration's invitation to a national debate over energy policy, its emphasis on conservation as opposed to giant crash programs for new energy development, and its stated concern about a just distribution of resources and sacrifices.

However, my major criticism of the Carter proposal is that while it appears to be comprehensive, and it takes in plenty, there is no plan that looks at the way this society overall uses energy, the way it allocates capital investment.

It surrenders completely on the issue of price; it surrenders on what I think is a pop line, to say that the age of cheap energy is over. You really have to make distinctions.

There may be areas of economic life where you want to encourage development through cheap energy. For example, whatever the faults of the Tennessee Valley Authority were, the idea of cheap energy to help a depressed area grow was a valuable idea.

Now there would also be other areas where you want to discourage energy—not just gas guzzling cars, but maybe much of the automobile industry. Or much of industrial use. By and large there's a heavy amount of our industrial apparatus which is based upon extraordinary waste, whose only justification is profit. And the energy industry itself is the principal user of natural gas.

**And the Carter plan does not address that waste at all?**

It addresses it tangentially, but unless they really tackle the problems of reshaping the investment patterns of this society—which means challenging the heart of private ownership of resources—I don't think they can get very far.

I suspect the energy industry and much other of the corporate world could live with a hell of a lot of what Carter now proposes. There will be a lot of publicity expressed anguish. But it remains to be seen what really is so fundamentally threatening.

**So what do you think an energy policy must do to address the corporate control**

**of resources you're talking about?**

A starting point should say that private ownership of natural resources is inappropriate. Now, public ownership would not solve problems automatically. You could have the same incompetence, the same vested interests, or whatever. But I don't think you're able to deal with these things anymore by assuming you can persuade private forces to act in the public interest, or that you can sufficiently use the tax power.

I'm convinced that a major fight ought to be made to say that resources ought to be publicly developed and allocated.

**Why does our society waste so much energy?**

There's been a glib assumption, fostered by the energy industry, that high energy consumption is consistent with high level of living. And it's not necessarily true. There are countries that have standards of living as high as the U.S., but with maybe 50 percent of the energy consumption per person. We have an extraordinarily wasteful economy.

**What kind of waste are you referring to? And how could we have a similar standard of living without so much energy waste?**

Well, that brings up one of the criticisms some people are making of the Carter proposal—that there's no real aid for mass transit. If you take major American cities, there's extraordinary waste because of inadequate mass transit.

The great national highway system, which was the greatest public works project in American history outside of war, pumped about \$60 billion into highway building. And in retrospect one could ask how much of that might better have been used for other kinds of development. So that's one kind of waste.

Barry Commoner points out another kind of waste. He shows how decisions, let's say by canning companies, to shift from tin plated to aluminum cans, increases the energy used in the production of these cans several fold. The decision, from the corporate perspective, serves their ends. They make more profit.

Or another example is the shift from natural soaps to detergents, so that now it's pretty hard to go into a supermarket and find a soapflake. That's a profit-based decision that has energy consequences.

**Are Carter's proposals going to address any of that?**

The appeal to the American people to conserve, to sacrifice, is very noble. But I think if people are going to sacrifice or conserve they have got to have a real genuine feeling that they're in control of the situation about which they're going to make sacrifices.

Also, these sacrifices are going to have to be just. There's endless emphasis on this in Carter's messages, but it's not

clear to me that if you require a man who drives a huge car to pay more for it, that that's really a penalty. So he just adds it to the cost of doing business.

On the other hand, there are people I know in rural Massachusetts who if fuel prices go up and they don't get it back through one of these so-called rebate plans they're already so close to the margin of survival that they're really going to be hit hard.

**Carter has said that he doesn't think it's necessary to break up the oil companies, that antitrust mechanisms are sufficient. What do you think? Is there any evidence that points in that direction?**

No, there's not. Carter is not really challenging the control of the oil companies. He's scolding them occasionally, and they're trotting out and saying, some of them, "this is pretty bad, he doesn't understand the real problems." But I wonder if we're not getting put on a bit.

The antitrust record suggests that in order to work, antitrust requires the absence of corporate power. It's never really worked because of the political power that spills over from this concentrated economic power.

I'm reasonably convinced—and I say this not out of glibness—that given the range and the power of the energy industry, its increasing takeover of all competing energy resources, its extraordinary drain of capital (maybe one-fifth of all capital investment in the U.S. is in the energy industry) and its corrosion of the whole political process—given all this, antitrust mechanisms are not enough.

For example, during the Watergate investigation, people wondered why, with all the televised drama, did the Ervin/Watergate committee appear rather shy about pursuing certain questions of corporate involvement and corruption. Well, every single member of the Senate Watergate committee, except chairman Ervin himself, was a recipient of oil company funds for his campaign.

What I'm saying is that the whole process is corrupted—whether one looks at the way the industry sets the definition for energy "reserves" or their massive assault on public opinion.

For example, during the energy crisis, the U.S. government relied on the industry to conduct most of its negotiations to allocate the oil supply. They relied on the industry to deal with negotiations with Saudi Arabia, with Iran and so forth. The State department said, "We have no judgment that would supersede theirs, we don't know what to say about price; they have the competence."

**The other proposal made to solve the energy crisis is some kind of national planning. But wouldn't national planning also be used to solve corporate interests?**

You're quite right. National planning, with the present rhetoric could just be

corporate leadership. In fact, it is conceivable that a fair amount of corporate perspective will increasingly welcome national planning. I'll give you an example:

Until recently, if you talked about national land-use planning, you were labeled as someone dangerous. But in relatively recent years you're getting, among others, corporate interests calling for national land-use planning, moderately.

Now, they're not asking to become accessories to their own socialization. What they're fearful of is that people, say in Santa Barbara or Nassau and Suffolk counties, won't think of the larger national interest when the companies come along and want to put in giant tanker terminals, pipeline setups, refineries. So national land-use planning would protect them from regional and local ecological movements.

So I could see national planning mechanisms furthering what radicals in the '60s called the corporate state. We should not say "No" to planning—I see no out for planning given a technological society—but keep such controls accountable to people in different parts of the country and the world.

The energy industry is betting that as long as we can drive and have all of the equivalent comforts, we won't give a damn about questions of control.

**But it seems that increasingly in the U.S. this is no longer the case. For example, those people you were talking about in western Massachusetts won't be getting all those "comforts."**

The question is, how do you translate it into some political reality. In my last book I describe in brief all kinds of experiments around the country where people in communities and states and regions are trying to exercise some kind of control over the coal in their region, the way it is mined and so forth.

Then there are places where people have fought for public ownership of resources in regions. And there are communities that have taken the lead in solar energy, garbage conversion and so forth. So there are hundreds of experiments—technological, political and economic.

My argument is essentially that the crisis is not of energy but of politics. The crisis isn't that we're running out of energy right now.

**What do you mean?**

What I mean is that ours is a system that has allowed all these critical decisions to be made privately. And the argument's always been that's the most efficient, it serves us best and it eliminates government bureaucracy, tyranny, waste, etc.

I think this has to be challenged. There must be a willingness to say, "Damn it, we ought to have an energy policy which is ecologically sane, politically accountable, and economically just."



## LABOR

## Declining influence of building trades

By Dan Marshall  
Staff Writer

After a century of dominating the policies of organized labor, the construction unions may be waning in power and influence. Knowledgeable observers close to the labor movement point to the defeat of common site picketing, the first piece of labor legislation to be pushed by the AFL-CIO in the new Congress, as the most recent in a series of blows against the interests of the building trades.

Common site picketing, which would have allowed a construction union to picket an entire building site in a dispute with only one contractor on the site, was defeated in the House on March 23 by a close 205-217 vote. Media commentators and some legislators have interpreted the defeat as a decisive setback for all of organized labor.

"Certainly it was not a defeat for the labor movement as a whole," says one high-level union source. "Common site picketing is a phony issue for everybody except some fat cats in the building trades. It was a defeat for the old, tired, white, right wing remnants of the labor movement. But the building trades are a smaller and smaller part of the economy—they just don't count as much anymore."

Indeed, the power of the construction unions has significantly declined in the last decade because of economic, technological and political factors.

#### ► Resisted trade unionism all along.

The construction unions—plumbers, iron workers, painters, carpenters, etc.—are among the oldest in organized labor. Principal organizers of the American Federation of Labor in 1881, they fought moves toward industrial (as opposed to craft) unionism for decades.

Even after unions like the United Mine Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers had broken away to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1935, and after other AFL unions like the Teamsters had begun to organize unskilled workers, the construction unions remained predominantly craft organizations, encompassing a single trade and tightly controlling entry into the field through apprenticeship programs.

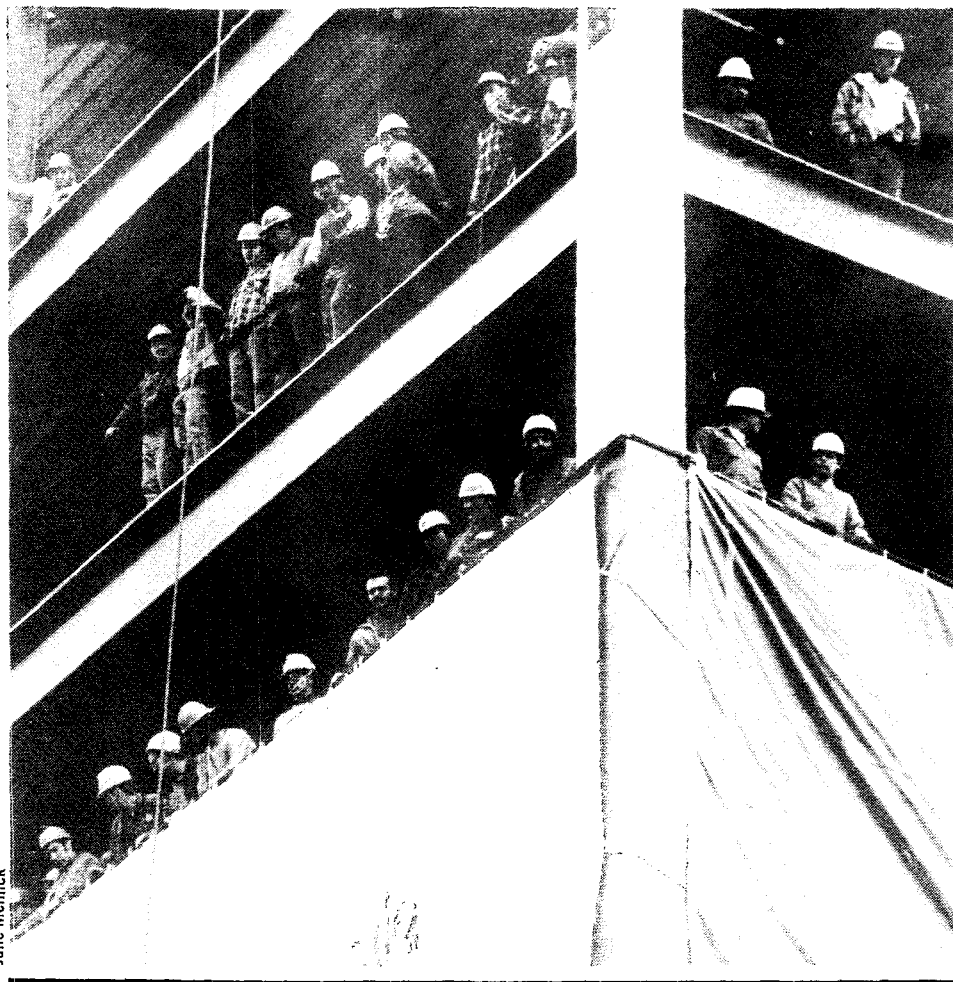
After the departure of the industrial unions to the CIO, the construction unions came to further dominate the AFL. Even the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955 did little to offset their power. The influence of the industrial unions in the merged federation was slowly undercut by AFL-CIO president George Meany, a plumber from the Bronx.

The seven construction union leaders who now sit as vice-presidents on the AFL-CIO Executive Council represent unions with a combined total of some three million workers, about 14 percent of the AFL-CIO's total membership. With the backing of Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, however, they hold 26 percent of the votes on the council and wield a disproportionate influence on AFL-CIO policies.

#### ► A boom in the '60s.

The construction industry thrived during the booming economy of the 1960s. As demand for residential housing, highways and buildings increased, the number of jobs available to construction workers rose some 15 percent. Since the union's apprenticeship system restricted the amount of trained workers—and ensured their employment through the union hiring hall—workers' wages rose about 50 percent during the decade. In 1970, for example, first year wage increases averaged 19.6 percent, compared to 9.9 percent for manufacturing jobs.

As wages jumped, so did construction strikes. The industry employs about four percent of the civilian labor force, but it accounted for almost 17 percent of all striking workers from 1962-71. Close to



## A series of economic, technological and political blows have sent the construction unions reeling, throwing into question their continued dominance of the AFL-CIO.

one in every five strikes during this period took place in the construction industry.

#### ► Industry and government counterattack.

Beginning in 1968 industry and government officials counterattacked. The "collective economic power" of the building trades "is perhaps the single most important direct contribution to the current wage-price spiral," complained *Fortune* in December 1968.

Industry productivity was failing to keep pace with wage increase, construction union critics charged, because union work rules increased labor costs and often barred the introduction of prefabrication and other modernizing techniques.

The underlying problems, according to *Fortune*, were government inaction and the fragmented structure of collective bargaining in the industry. The federal government could and should play a decisive role in holding down costs because it is the country's single largest builder. (About one-third of all new construction is publicly-financed.)

According to the critics, the nation's 870,000 contractors were virtually powerless against unions because they often bargained separately and were reluctant to endure long strikes that would delay completion of the project.

The solution: a "strong stand" by government to hold down costs (i.e. labor costs) and a streamlining of bargaining procedures in the industry. After an unprecedented number of local construction strikes and high wage settlements in 1970, the Nixon administration swung into action.

In February 1971 Nixon suspended the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act that required contractors to pay union wages on federally-financed jobs. While his executive order was temporary, it invited non-union contractors to bid on government jobs and pay less than union scale. The open shop movement in construction, which had previously been concentrated among small contractors, got a big boost.

#### ► Increasing national power.

Nixon also created the Construction In-

dustrial Stabilization Committee (CISC), headed by John Dunlop, as a "cooperative mechanism for the stabilization of wages and prices."

This 12-person, tripartite (labor, contractors, public) body was empowered to review all collective bargaining agreements to insure that they did not exceed average wage settlements in the 1961-68 base period.

National construction union leaders viewed CISC as a way to strengthen their own inter-union power. As the *Wall Street Journal* later commented, "the committee's real appeal to the construction union presidents who sit on it has been the clout it has given them over many of their traditionally independent and sometimes rebellious locals."

By 1973, cooperation between national union officers and contractor representatives on the CISC had held average wage boosts to 5.8 percent and had cut the number of strikes to half of 1972.

#### ► Aiding open shop.

While national union leaders chatted with John Dunlop, some of their locals were grumbling. When the Operating Engineers in Chicago negotiated one contract, the CISC took away part of the wage increase, despite the fact the contractors had already bid some jobs on the basis of the negotiated wages.

"When the federal government took it away, who got the money?" asks William Martin, head of Local 150 of the International Union of Operating Engineers. "The employers made some bucks on the back of my people. But nothing was ever done about it. Nixon's wage stabilization was one of the biggest frauds perpetuated on the American people. The industry made hundreds of millions in windfall profits."

Martin believes that the CISC contributed to the growth of the open shop, though it was not the determining factor. As unions gradually lost the power to conduct strikes, fight for inflation-catching wage hikes and defend the union hiring hall, open shop contractors moved in, mainly from the South, and bid jobs at lower wage rates and fewer fringe benefits. "So the union contractor would either go

double-breasted—form another company while holding his union firm—or he would lose work," Martin says.

In this atmosphere, open shop contractors made big gains. While the construction industry expanded overall in the early '70s, the number of union jobs dropped. Non-union contractors, who accounted for 20 percent of all construction work in 1969, now handle more than 50 percent.

#### ► Technology took jobs.

Technological innovations also led to a decrease in union jobs. Prefinished wall partitions, for example, which are light and easy to rearrange, cut out work for carpenters and painters. Wiring behind open-hung ceilings cut the work of skilled electricians. As a result contractors are increasingly able to use unskilled, non-union labor to handle these simplified tasks.

The construction unions were also battered by the economic recession. Building and housing construction dropped from 1974-76, and is only now beginning to pick up again. In January 1977 the AFL-CIO's Building and Construction Trades Department reported a 27 percent national unemployment rate among construction workers. In New York City alone, 67 percent of these workers are without jobs. Thousands of union workers lost their jobs and many have put their union cards aside to seek non-union employment.

#### ► A management year.

This series of economic and technological blows—open shop contractors, modernized building processes, and massive unemployment—sent the construction unions reeling. In city after city, they have been forced to accept wage cuts, no strike agreements and cuts in work rules.

"It's a management year, for the first time in many a moon," a real estate professor told *Industry Week* in 1976. "It appears that the many construction workers who were out of work for so long are now appreciative of simply having work."

In Rochester, N.Y., for example, 11 construction unions agreed to delay wage increases for two years or until the project is completed. In Washington, D.C., the Hyman Construction Co. reportedly threatened to use non-union labor on a redevelopment project unless unions accepted a "project agreement" that cuts overtime pay, alters work rules and includes an eight-year no strike provision.

At the national level union leaders have reached an agreement with the federal government to rehabilitate low-income housing in some cities at wage rates reduced by 25 percent. They are now negotiating "across the trades" agreements that would standardize work rules for particular trades.

#### ► Alliance with Republicans.

Through these cutbacks in wages and working conditions, construction union leaders hope to make union labor competitive with open shop contractors.

At the same time national union leaders have moved politically to concentrate more power in their own hands through restructuring collective bargaining, an attempt that has often brought them into alliance with the Republican party.

In 1970 Nixon sought to undercut labor's traditional support of Democrats by bringing Meany and the building trades into the "emerging Republican majority." After Meany had supported the Cambodia invasion and hard hat workers had beat up anti-war demonstrators in New York City, Nixon invited union leaders to the White House. Peter Brennan, head of the city's construction trades council, presented the president with a honorary hard hat.

(Continued on page 6.)



## ELECTIONS

## L.A. activist pushes "public enterprise"



L.A. activist Burt Wilson is trying to parlay his leading role in CAUSE into a seat in the State Assembly.

By Lawrence Swaim

A heated electoral contest is shaping up in Los Angeles' 46th assembly district, a primarily working-class and multi-racial area just west of downtown, with a high percentage of senior citizens. A special election May 24, called to fill the vacancy created when President Carter tapped assemblyman Charles Warren to head the Council on Environmental Quality, pits three machine liberal Democrats against Burt Wilson, a former advertising man turned activist.

Wilson's program centers around the struggle against unfair utility rates and related grassroots issues, with a long range perspective for community control over California utilities, insurance companies, banks and gas and oil companies.

The Los Angeles chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Wilson is best known as a founder and chief strategist of CAUSE (Campaign Against Utility Service Exploitation), which now includes 30 consumer, labor, ecology, senior citizen and community action groups.

The Wilson campaign will stress past CAUSE victories. "We'll use that as a lead-in to the issue of putting communities in charge of decision-making that is now in private hands," Wilson told *IN THESE TIMES*.

"The public interest movement raises an important question—what is the alternative to private enterprise? For us the alternative is what we are calling public enterprise," Wilson says. He targets four areas where public enterprise is most needed in California:

- **Utilities:** Private ownership results in unreasonable rates and environmental havoc because the regulatory process is pegged to the utility's investment and profit priorities. Public control through democratically-elected community boards and commissions is the only way to put the paying public in charge.

- **Banks:** Banks should be run by com-

munity-elected boards. They should supply venture capital to help cities and neighborhoods in need, initiate solar energy programs, benefit the building trades by providing low-cost loans for home improvements, insure home mortgages, end redlining, help fund socially productive programs, and finance a statewide retrofitting program to make homes more energy efficient. Profits from public capital would go to reduce property taxes.

- **Insurance:** Insurance rates are not predicated on actuarial assumptions, but on investments made by big insurance companies. There should be a state insurance agency, administered by an elected citizen board of directors. The agency would supply life insurance to seniors, and would use its accumulated capital to keep premiums low and reduce taxes.

- **Oil and Gas Corporations:** A public oil and gas corporation could develop state resources for state consumption, while getting an accurate picture of exactly what our resources are—information the big corporations refuse to give out publicly. It would meet people's energy needs first, and put private profit second. Once again, it would be administered by boards and commissions elected by the communities, *not* by appointees of the governor or state legislature. Like the other systemic reforms, it would seek to take the state out of the revenue consuming business and put it in the revenue reducing business, using its capital to keep taxes down.

Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy has endorsed the Wilson campaign, as has DSOC, Los Angeles New American Movement (NAM), CAUSE and Rep. Ron Dellums. Also endorsing are the Concerned Clergy, the black ministers' association in the district, and SEIU Local 660. Further community and labor support is expected as the campaign progresses.

Lawrence Swaim is a former union official, now a full-time writer. His first novel, *Waiting for the Earthquake*, has just been published (See Mike LaVelle's review, *ITT*, April 27).

(Continued from page 5.)

## Building trades decline

Nixon created CISC in 1971 as part of this strategy. His efforts paid off in the '72 elections. The AFL-CIO Executive Council remained neutral in the presidential race, while some unions actively supported Nixon. In 1973 the president returned the favor and appointed Peter Brennan as Secretary of Labor.

After the Nixon imposed wage-price controls expired in 1974 wage increases and strikes again shot upward, prompting unions and contractors to agree that "it is timely for labor and management to explore... a more viable and practical framework for collective bargaining."

#### ►Common site and collective bargaining.

When President Ford appointed John Dunlop as Labor Secretary in March 1975 that exploration crystallized into the Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Act, a law that would institutionalize the wage/strike restrictions of CISC.

"The bill is an attempt to come to grips with the basic problem that the building trades locals have too much power," an administration official told *Business Week*. "It is, in effect, transferring power from the locals to the internationals."

When the AFL-CIO proposed a common site picketing bill, Ford demanded that it be combined with the Collective Bargaining Act. It was. Ford then promised to sign this "acceptable" version of common site picketing and Dunlop pushed it through Congress.

Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO was maintaining its stand-offish attitude toward the Democratic party. In early 1975 the Executive Council decided not to actively intervene in Democratic primary battles, thus leaving open the possibility that they would again remain neutral or support

the Republican candidate outright.

#### ►Old Guard's power at low ebb.

A group of liberal unions that had supported McGovern in 1972, on the other hand, formed the Labor Coalition Clearinghouse to get a maximum number of labor delegates to the Democratic convention. Coalition unions were instrumental in several of Jimmy Carter's primary victories. Leonard Woodcock of the UAW became his first big-labor backer.

George Meany and the construction unions supported Carter reluctantly, only after he had the nomination sewed up. They were more concerned with opposing Ford who had broken his word and vetoed common site picketing.

Compared with previous Democratic administrations, the influence of the AFL-CIO old guard is considerably reduced. Their economic punch has declined after years of unemployment and industry attacks. Their political strength has been diluted through years of playing with the Republicans. Even their public image has faded, as the media depicts them as a bunch of crusty old men, more concerned about their own selfish interests than about the welfare of the whole country.

Carter has rejected the AFL-CIO's advice to appoint John Dunlop as Labor secretary, to increase job creation in his economic stimulus program, and to up the minimum wage to \$3 an hour.

#### ►An answer to open shop.

Common site picketing was the construction union's attempt to beat the open-shop movement. According to a 1975 Wharton School study, the "greatest threat" to the continued expansion of the open

shop would be new rules "which would permit the construction unions the right to use secondary boycotts to drive open shop constructors and non-union employees off jobs." Common site picketing would have done exactly that.

"The impact on open shop growth would be immediate and profound," the study concluded, making it impossible for them to operate in many areas.

The fact that it was first on the AFL-CIO legislative agenda does attest, however, to the continued prominence of construction union interests in the AFL-CIO hierarchy. At the same time it is clear that its passage would not have benefitted industrial unions, service unions, public employees or the bulk of the working class. In fact, its unexpected defeat may have jeopardized legislation in the interests of these groups.

#### ►Upside-down priorities.

William Winpisinger, who will become president of the Machinists' union in July, bluntly told the *New York Times*: "There is no question in my mind that Meany made the order of priorities, and putting the construction picketing bill ahead of everything else in our program was certainly an upside-down priority if you're talking about legislation that is in the best interests of the whole country."

In addition, while common site picketing would have put the economic screws on non-union contractors, some local union leaders believe it would have done more harm than good by taking jobs away from construction workers and generating more chaos in the industry.

"As it was proposed, situs picketing would have created chaos in the construction industry," comments William Martin. "Let's say I popped a big power plant because there were three non-union operating engineers working there. Pulling all the engineers and shutting down the entire job is certainly *not* going to make me

a hero with all those guys that lose work. I would also place a fantastic monetary liability on this local. I may organize the three men, but in the process lose hundreds of thousands of dollars in wages."

#### ►Miscalculated strength.

The immediate reason for the defeat was that the AFL-CIO miscalculated in approaching the Congress and overestimated its own power. They figured that votes in the House were wrapped up and concentrated their lobbying on the Senate. As the assistant to Robert Georgine, head of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, said: "We were over-confident.... We started to believe our own press clippings."

The bill's narrow defeat was especially hard to take because it was spearheaded by forces that represent small business interests, like the National Right to Work Committee. Non-union contractors played a prominent role.

For Martin, a local construction union official, the defeat illustrates how out of touch the national leaders are with their members, the new Congress, and the mood of the country. "I think their political clout has diminished. The Congress, like the unions, is now made up of a younger element of people. But the hierarchy is still attacking problems like they did 25 years ago."

"We can never have a viable labor movement when the heads of these unions are well past retirement age," he concludes. "They have not come up with a progressive idea in 25 years. How many times have members of the Executive Council sought advice from someone working on an assembly line, or a bulldozer, or digging a ditch for a sewer contractor? When you lose touch with the rank and file union member, the labor movement is not going to move forward. Unless you can generate enthusiasm there, you're not going anywhere."



## WOMEN

# Sterilization abuse on the rise

**In response to a court order HEW has stiffened its sterilization regulations, but a recent survey of 42 large teaching hospitals across the country found 64 percent in gross violation of the regulations; 14 did not even know the regulations existed.**

By Kathy Mallin

Lupe Acosta entered Los Angeles County Hospital in the final stages of labor one August evening in 1973. The 35-year-old Chicana's nightmare began as she was being examined by two physicians who began to push down hard on her stomach, causing her immense pain. She managed to push one of them back, whose response was to punch her in the stomach and remark, "Now lady, let us do what we have to."

Seven days later she learned that her baby had died; at a check-up one month later she learned she had been sterilized. Lupe Acosta still suffers pains and nervousness as a result of her tubal ligation and her common-law husband of eight years left her because of her sterility.

Incidents of medical abuse such as this are not uncommon in a health care system based on profit, teaching, and research priorities at the expense of good patient care. Women, who comprise 70 percent of all patient visits, are the major victims. Forced sterilization is a blatant example.

#### ►Abuse when there is no consent.

Sterilization should certainly be an option available to women who have seriously considered its risks and benefits as compared to other methods of contraception. But sterilization abuse occurs when there is not freely given, informed consent; as when women are threatened with deportation or loss of public aid benefits if they refuse the operation. More subtly, it occurs when sterilization is suggested in stressful situations, such as childbirth, or without adequate counseling.

Sterilization is not only permanent, it is also one of the most risky forms of contraception available to women. Tubal ligation, where the fallopian tubes are tied, blocked or removed to prevent the passage of eggs, is considerably more dangerous than the I.U.D. or diaphragm, and is not necessarily any safer than the continued use of oral contraceptives. Serious complications per million women are as high as 15,000 for tubals, 600 for the pill, 400 for the I.U.D., and virtually none for the diaphragm. Some of the common side effects from this operation include bleeding, uterine perforation, accidental burning or bowel trauma, abdominal pain, or pain during menstruation.

Yet this most risky method of contra-

ception is also the fastest growing in the U.S. today. Female sterilization has increased 350 percent from 1970 to 1975. An estimated one million women now undergo sterilizations each year.

Some of the recent increase in sterilization incidence is undoubtedly due to increased demand on the part of women who were given the opportunity to make an informed decision. But there is ample evidence that many women are not even given the opportunity to make a decision.

Sterilization abuse first gained national attention in 1973 with the case of two black sisters, aged 12 and 14, who had been deemed "mentally incompetent" and sterilized by an Alabama physician. Since the physician was reimbursed with federal funds, the lawsuit that followed resulted in a federal judge ordering the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to stiffen its sterilization regulations.

#### ►No enforcement of new regulations.

The improvements in the new regulations included a prohibition on the sterilization of women under 21, a 72-hour waiting period between the time of consent and the actual procedure and written notification that refusal to undergo the procedure would not result in the loss of any public assistance. HEW, however, has no means of enforcement and a 1974 survey of 42 large teaching hospitals across the country found 64 percent of them to be in gross violation of the regulations. The report found that 14 of them were not even aware that such regulations exist.

The absence of regulation produces victims like the ten Chicanas who recently sued L.A. County Hospital after having been deceived or coerced into sterilizations. Or the 28 black women sterilized in six months by one South Carolina physician, the only doctor in his county, who refuses to deliver the babies of black welfare patients with two or more children unless they consent to sterilizations.

The Child Welfare Services outside Pittsburgh not long ago persuaded doctors to sterilize a 32-year-old Native American, without her knowledge, and took custody of her newborn son. The official medical reason for her sterilization was "socio-economic"—in other words, she was sterilized because she was poor.

Most victims of abuse are poor and non-white. In Puerto Rico, 35 percent of all women of childbearing age have been sterilized, many through Rockefeller-funded family planning clinics. And in the U.S., 20 percent of all married black women have been sterilized, and 14 percent of all Native American women, as compared to 7 percent of all married white women.

The enforcement of HEW regulations would stop abuse only in cases reimbursed

by federal funds. Unnecessary surgery will continue to occur as long as economic incentives to perform surgery exist. Federal employees under pre-paid group health plans, for example, have a 16.8 percent probability of having a hysterectomy by age 70. The odds of getting this operation under largely unregulated Blue Cross plans is about 35 percent.

#### ►Medical education system involved.

The nature of medical education in this country also makes poor and non-white women prime targets for the surgical knives of interns and residents who need to perform operations to fulfill certification requirements. Many former residents admit they were encouraged to talk women into sterilizations for teaching purposes.

The acting director of a New York municipal hospital has said, "In most major teaching hospitals in New York City, it is the unwritten policy to do elective hysterectomies on poor, black and Puerto Rican women with minimal indications...to train residents.... At least 10 percent of gynecological surgery in New York City is done on this basis. And 99 percent of this is done on black and Puerto Rican women."

Population control ideology supporting sterilization is reflected in the attitudes and practices of many physicians. A 1972 Planned Parenthood survey of 226 physicians, for instance, found that 30 percent of them favored the withholding of public assistance to welfare mothers with three or more "illegitimate" children if they refused to be sterilized.

Community and women's groups across the country have faced enormous resistance from the medical and population control establishments in their fight against sterilization abuse. Sterilization regulations proposed in California and New York City, for example, were actively opposed by local hospital and medical associations.

An important victory was recently won on April 28 when the New York City Council adopted stringent sterilization regulations applicable to all hospitals and clinics performing sterilizations.

Requirements in the new law include counseling in the patient's preferred language, and a 30-day waiting period after consent has been given to prevent sterilizations under stressful situations.

Enforcement of the regulations, however, will require constant monitoring and community support, for forces in the medical establishment are likely to challenge the new law as an infringement on medical practice.

For more information: CESA, 1841 Broadway, Room 300, New York, NY 11207.

Kathy Mallin has been active in CESA in Chicago.



## LABOR

## Atlanta sanitation strike broken by mayor

Atlanta. "Mayor wins" crowed the *Atlanta Constitution* two weeks ago as the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees' strike against the city of Atlanta completed its extended death throes. "The Mayor has won" admitted AFSCME area representative Leamon Hood as he announced the end of a work action that had lasted almost five weeks and that had been doomed from its inception.

The strike, which began on March 28, involved 915 of Atlanta's lowest paid sanitation and water department workers. With their wages virtually frozen since 1974, and with supposedly pro-union Mayor Maynard Jackson disallowing raises in each year's city budget, the rank and file had risen up and against the advice of both local and national AFSCME leadership had called a work stoppage.

From the outset, however, the strike was beset with four major handicaps. First, the statutory city deadline for enacting change in the 1977-'78 budget was March 31, just three days after the beginning of the strike. Although this deadline has occasionally been ignored in the



past, the city stood on solid legal and public relations footing in refusing to negotiate wages after that date.

Second, local union leadership had failed to build alliances with other labor and community organizations. Thus the sanitation workers were easily isolated by the Jackson administration.

Third, the strike unfortunately coincided with a national AFSCME ad campaign vilifying Atlanta as "losersville" and singling out Mayor Jackson for considerable scurrilous criticism. This created a hostile climate among the Atlanta population and split the black community

over the question of support for the mayor.

Most important, however, was the unexpectedly vicious opposition of Mayor Jackson, a liberal who won office with massive labor support. Almost before the strike began, the mayor fired all participants and gave them a deadline to come back to work or be permanently replaced. Since most strikers refused to meet the deadline the city quickly began to hire replacements.

Although Jackson essentially broke the strike in its first week, the rank and file kept up its picketlines until April 26 when

a group of strikers and supporters allegedly trying to force their way into the mayor's office was set upon by police. The strikers were roughed up and charged and bound over for rioting, unlawful assembly and other criminal charges.

That night AFSCME international, whose lukewarm support for the strike had included minimal \$25 per week strike payments, disowned the strike. The next day the local leadership admitted defeat.

Although some of the strikers had already returned to work, the city has hired several hundred replacements for those who kept up the strike. In an apparent attempt to recoup his position with organized labor Jackson announced that since the strike was broken those who so desired could come back to work without loss of seniority. However, when the former strikers tried to take advantage of the offer there were few jobs available. Attempts by the city council to create several hundred CETA jobs to rehire the workers are currently bogged down in red tape.

—Jon Jacobs  
Southern Bureau



## POLITICAL ACTION



Marian Beth Goldmen

**Although Carter had openly solicited election support from disabled groups and had endorsed new regulations, his election brought only more delay.**

*As many as 180 demonstrators occupied the entire fourth floor of the federal building in San Francisco for a record 26 days.*

## Disabled sit-in wins equal opportunity regulations

By Elizabeth Metzger and Ken McEldowney

San Francisco. A 26-day sit-in by disabled demonstrators in the San Francisco regional Health, Education and Welfare offices has forced the signing of historic regulations guaranteeing the civil rights of more than 36 million disabled Americans. The sit-in, the longest ever held in a federal building, ended April 30 with a massive victory rally.

The San Francisco demonstration was the longest of ten nation-wide, sponsored by the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities, an umbrella organization of 45 national, state and local disabled groups. The demonstrations were intended to pressure HEW Secretary Joseph Califano into signing regulations to implement Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973.

As many as 180 demonstrators, organized by the Bay-area 504 Emergency Coalition, occupied the entire fourth floor of the old federal building here. Spearheaded by the Center for Independent Living in Berkeley, the coalition encompassed a wide spectrum of community groups and individuals, including traditional social service organizations, black, Third World, gay, women's, and senior citizens' groups, and a large number of labor unions. The Black Panther party and Delancy Street, an organization of former convicts and drug addicts, helped out by supplying most of the food during the sit-in.

### ►A contingent to Washington.

For the San Francisco demonstrators,

life on the fourth floor turned into an educational, political and emotional experience. Many who had felt isolated with their disabilities before the demonstration discovered a new family.

By the 14th day the demonstrators decided to take their protest directly to Washington and a contingent of 25 left in an attempt to meet with Califano and President Carter.

Although they were not able to talk to either—Carter left his church from a side door, and Califano left his house by the back door—according to Kitty Cone of the Washington contingent, they were able to gather support from more than 30 members of Congress and “raised a lot of consciousness in Washington.” When Cone, along with about half of the demonstrators, returned to San Francisco on April 27, she predicted that 504 would be signed within a week. The following day Califano signed the regulations.

The controversy stems from the passage of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act in September 1973. Section 504 of the act prohibited discrimination on the basis of disability. It was hailed as the first major federal civil rights law to protect and further the rights of the disabled.

### ►Delay and more delay.

But for three and a half years, despite prodding by Congress and disabled organizations, two administrations dragged their feet on drafting regulations to implement Section 504. Not until February 1976 was a required economic impact state-

ment completed. It concluded that the benefits of implementing the regulations outweighed the costs.

Finally, in the fall of '76, final regulations were drafted and submitted to the HEW Secretary—but they were never signed.

During his election campaign Jimmy Carter actively solicited the support of disabled groups. In a Sept. 6 speech in Warm Springs, Ga., he said, “No administration that really cared about disabled citizens would spend three years trying to avoid enforcing Section 504.”

But Carter's election brought more delay. Word leaked out of Washington that revisions were in the works that would water down Congressional intent. This is what precipitated the nationwide demonstrations and led to the signing of the final regulations.

The new regulations ban discrimination against disabled Americans, including alcoholics and drug addicts, by all HEW-supported public and private institutions. The major aspects of the new regulations include:

- All new facilities must be readily accessible and useable by disabled people. All programs in existing buildings must be made accessible within 60 days unless structural changes in the facilities must be made. Renovations must be completed within three years;
- Employers cannot discriminate against the disabled if reasonable accommodations can be made to an individual's disability. Employers can no longer require pre-employment physical examinations,

nor inquire into whether an applicant is disabled;

- Every disabled child will be entitled to a free public education within regular classrooms “to the maximum extent possible.” In the unusual cases where placement in special residential facilities is necessary costs will be paid by public authorities;

- Colleges and universities must make reasonable modifications in academic requirements to ensure full educational opportunity for disabled students. When necessary, the schools shall also provide auxiliary aids such as readers in libraries or interpreters for the deaf;

- Within one year each institution must complete a self-evaluation process in consultation with disabled people and organizations to determine which of their policies and practices need to be changed to insure compliance with Section 504.

While these regulations only apply to programs funded by HEW, Califano noted in signing them that “this regulation will be the basis for other similar regulations that will be issued by all other federal departments and agencies that will affect all recipients of federal funds.”

When the San Francisco demonstrators heard that the regulations were signed they were visibly pleased. “We came here to do what we had to and we succeeded,” said Dusty Irvine, who just had ended a 23-day fast. She and others had refused to eat until the regulations were signed. “The government took notice of us. We won the victory, by God. No one gave us anything,” said Kitty Cone.

### ►A developed presence in Berkeley.

The April demonstration was not the first time the Bay area disabled have had to fight for their rights and have succeeded. Their movement began in Berkeley in the mid '60s when Ed Roberts, who is now Director of Rehabilitation in California, tried to attend the University of California at Berkeley and succeeded. The university had objected to his attendance because it didn't want to take responsibility for a student dependent on an iron lung.

Other disabled students followed Roberts' lead. Soon they started a special Disabled Students Program with counseling and support services, and in the early '70s they and other members of the Berkeley disabled community formed the Center for Independent Living.

CIL lobbied the Berkeley City Council successfully for street curb ramps and elevators in public buildings. Its service program deals with the day-to-day needs of living independently. Other CIL projects tackle the social, political and environmental problems that affect nearly all disabled, blind and elderly people. Among its services CIL offers a 24-hour wheelchair repair service and an alternative transportation system. Because CIL has so successfully met the needs of the disabled in Berkeley, the city has become a mecca for the disabled from all over the country.

### ►504 just another step.

Forcing implementation of 504 is just another step. “Getting it signed is one thing; getting it enforced is another,” Donney Johnson said.

Johnson's doubts were seconded by San Francisco Supervisor John Molinari who, during his address at the April 30 victory rally in front of City Hall, warned that local bureaucrats are already complaining about how difficult it would be for the city to follow the regulations.

Part of the San Francisco contingent is staying in Washington to insure that the disabled are represented as HEW and Congress thrash out how to implement the new regulations that could cost \$2.4 billion.

Beyond 504, the San Francisco Coalition plans to continue to fight for the rights of the disabled in all areas of life. Dusty Irvine said, “The Coalition will stay together as long as there are disabilities in the world, and that will be forever.”

Elizabeth Metzger and Ken McEldowney are freelance journalists in the Bay area.



# IN THE WORLD

## LATIN AMERICA

# Brazil's military will not let up

By Sherry Keith

When Gen. Ernesto Geisel, President of Brazil, closed the federal Congress temporarily on March 30, hopes of following the gradual path back to democracy from military dictatorship were drowned for the present.

In spite of his public policy of political liberalization, since 1974 Geisel has run the country as autocratically as his predecessors. The former president of Brazil's largest state-owned enterprise, Petrobras, Geisel knows how to anticipate and appease pressure from the extreme right of the military and often does so with doses of political repression.

The immediate crisis, however, is without doubt the most serious for the military government since it took power in 1964. While Geisel has managed to draw the ranks of the generals behind him with his crack-down on party politics, he may be unable to quell the rising tide of anti-government sentiments coming from sectors of Brazilian society that have been government stalwarts in the past.

### ►The domestic pressure-cooker.

The regime has faced severe pressure both domestically and internationally since last year. Internally, the government has been unable to muster the political support needed to offset its loss of credibility. Always of questionable political legitimacy, the dictatorship possessed a certain managerial *savoir faire* in the eyes of Brazilian and international entrepreneurs. The military was viewed by these groups as the only force capable of organizing and promoting the Brazilian economy. Its policies were reputed to have created "the Brazilian miracle" in the late 1960s with annual GNP growth-rates of 10 and 11 percent.

The benefits of this miracle have been restricted, however, to international business and a narrowing circle of Brazilian capitalists. Over the past year many national producers began to seriously question whether they benefit from the miraculous growth and from the government's political policies. With the forced resignation of Severo Gomes, former Minister of Trade and Industry in January, their allegiance to the military fell to an all-time low.

Gomes was the gadfly of the Geisel cabinet—the only minister who consistently represented their interests. He clashed frequently with other powerful



The Brazilian dictatorship staked its reputation on the "Brazilian Miracle" of the 1960s, but in the last few years the economy has slowed and inflation has risen 50 percent. In the face of growing opposition, the dictatorship has abandoned its liberalization plans.

ministers who supported the open-door policy to international capital upon which the Brazilian miracle has been predicated.

In spite of the government's repressive policies on wages and ban on strikes, it was unable to check the rampant inflation that neared 50 percent in 1976. This situation has also hurt local capital, which finds credit too expensive and costs rising too quickly, while the multinationals in agribusiness and mining have continued to have high rates of profit.

Crying out in protest against the economic squeeze, some Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro businessmen called for a restoration of democracy, asserting that the military could no longer be relied upon to create the necessary conditions for promoting their interests. Geisel responded, promising that he would try to loosen credit and decontrol prices. This will further pauperize workers whose real wages will go down.

Intellectuals and students also continue to oppose the regime. In early April students called demonstrations at three of Brazil's largest universities. In Rio Grande do Sul, 1,000 students gathered in spite of the presence of military police to protest "arbitrary political imprisonments, the closing of the federal Congress, censorship of the press and to demand amnesty for all Brazilians imprisoned or exiled for political reasons."

The government also lost face in March when it had to abandon midstream a new surtax and rationing scheme for gasoline which was already selling at more than \$2 per gallon. Not only did civilian consumers protest the scheme, but junior officers in the army and airforce pilots began to complain bitterly. Plans had to be scrapped after millions of coupons had been delivered to banks throughout the country.

Fuel has been a continual source of problems for Brazil. Massive oil imports have driven the international debt up astronomically since 1974. This plight has pushed Brazil to be more aggressive internationally. Brazil's booming armaments industry has begun to export highly sophisticated armored cars to the Near East in direct exchange for oil. Brazil also quickly recognized the MPLA government in Angola in hopes of building ties that would give it access to Angolan oil and outlets for military products as well as consumer durables.

### ►The opposition party gains.

The biggest political headache for Geisel has been the growing popularity of the moderate opposition party, the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB). In the municipal elections of late 1976 the government's party ARENA won a numerical victory, but the MDB swept the major urban areas. While insignificant in

terms of power, these municipal elections showed the handwriting on the wall.

The MDB's strong urban support indicates that if state gubernatorial and legislative elections were to take place as planned in 1978, it would gain control of the most important states in the country: Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul. One of the first measures taken by Geisel when he suspended the Congress was to decree that the rules for the 1978 election would be changed. These elections will now be indirect by way of an electoral college rather than a direct plebiscite, eliminating the possibility of an MDB victory.

Along with hamstringing the opposition on the electoral front, Geisel decreed that constitutional amendments could now be made by a simple majority. This measure prevents the MDB, which has over one-third of the seats in Congress, from stopping constitutional legislation, as they did with recently proposed judicial reforms. More stringent press censorship stands were also promised, an apparent swipe at Brazilian newspapers and magazines that became quite bold in their criticism of the government during the past few months.

With flagging civilian support the military hoped to play at least one of its trump cards by denouncing U.S. pressures to break Brazil's nuclear agreement with West Germany. Clearly wanting to stir up nationalist sentiments, the issue was hotly played with the military portrayed as the protagonist against the North American dragon. Indications are that while the dictatorship has succeeded in alarming Washington about the possibility of a real deterioration of U.S.-Brazilian relations, the well publicized controversy has had little impact on national unity within Brazil.

The crack in U.S.-Brazilian relations could present the dictatorship with another worry. Brazil is highly dependent on the U.S. for international credit. The Brazilian Minister of Finance was recently in Washington attempting to renegotiate the \$28 billion trade deficit whose interest payments are seriously threatening the country's current balance of payments situation. While the Brazilians would like to exercise their growing political muscle as the police force of the Southern Hemisphere, Brazil's autonomy is still restricted.

Sherry Keith teaches at Sonoma State College, California. She has recently visited Brazil.

By Eric Perlman  
Pacific News Service

Commercial whaling, long a target of environmental protests from around the world, will be dead by 1980—the victim not so much of world opinion as of its own greed. There are simply not enough whales left. The Japanese and Russians—who together take the great bulk of the world's annual allowed whale quota—could not even find enough sperm whales to fill their 1976 quotas.

As a result of depletion caused by over-harvesting, the Japanese Whaling Union recently called for an end to whaling. Two years ago the six major whaling companies of Japan consolidated into one, firing half their employees. This year, half the remaining employees will be fired. Japanese whaling ships are dilapidated and rusting. No capital is available to perpetuate a terminal industry.

Whale meat, long an inexpensive staple of the Japanese diet, has nearly tripled in price since 1963, its consumption down more than half. Whale meat currently provides less than three percent of Japan's national protein intake, according to Dr. Yutaka Hirasawa, a professor at Tokyo Fisheries University.

## THE OCEANS

# No more whales, no more whaling

**"The environmentalist outcry certainly helped push the whaling industry, but it was their own mismanagement and greed that has caused its death."**

Mark Lavelle, spokesman for the Miami-based environmentalist group Dolphin Project, considers the Japanese acknowledgment of whaling's end only a "partial victory" for his ranks. "The environmentalist outcry certainly helped push them," he says, "but it was their own mismanagement and greed that has caused the death of the whaling industry."

Environmentalists believe that when the Japanese stop whaling, the Russians will follow suit, despite conflicting official statements. "The Russians are letting their [whaling] ships go to hell," says Gary Zimmerman, president of the environ-

mentalist group Greenpeace America, which confronted the Russian whalers on the high seas last year. "They're milking the whales for the last drop of blood before the whole fleet turns to scrap," he says.

Last year, Moscow denied a widely publicized statement by its charges d'affaires in Canada that the Soviets would cease whaling within two years because it had become such a sensitive diplomatic issue. Moscow even recalled the diplomat to answer for his unauthorized statements.

Recent communiques from the Soviet government stoutly defend their whaling operations.

The Russians don't even eat whale meat, which they sell to Japan. Their main target is the precious oil in the brain casings of the sperm whale, which lubricates superbly under high temperatures and pressures. The Russians use the oil primarily for greasing the guts of their guided missiles and high-speed war planes.

Meanwhile, even species that have been protected by the International Whaling Commission are on the verge of extinction.

The now-protected blue whale, the largest creature who ever lived, once coursed the world's oceans by the tens of thousands. A recent census estimates that less than 2,000 are left. They breed so slowly that it will take more than a century for them to significantly recoup their losses.

Fin whales and the singing humpback are also near extinction though protected. Right whales, so named because they were the "right" whales to kill, are so few that scientists are uncertain if the species can survive. Only a few hundred remain in the entire North Atlantic.

Eric Perlman is a San Francisco-based freelance writer who specializes in science and the environment.



# 'The capitalists have no coherent plan'

Jimmy Carter went to London last week for an economic summit meeting with six other advanced capitalist countries—Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan. High on the agenda was the continuing recession among these countries, their dependence on Third World commodity suppliers, particularly of oil, the growing debt of the poor Third World countries to their banks, and the danger of trade war as countries restrict imports to protect their industries.

It is a measure of the importance that Carter attaches to these issues that he is making the summit his first foreign journey. As members of the David Rockefeller-sponsored Trilateral Commission, Carter, Walter Mondale, and such key advisors as W. Michael Blumenthal, Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski subscribed to the view that the first priority of American policy should be to reestablish, on firmer ground, the trilateral alliance between North America, Japan and Western Europe that was shaken by the Richard Nixon/John Connally policies in 1971.

Will Carter be able to re-establish the alliance on the same sure footing that it was on? Will the trilateral nations find a solution to the threat of default on Third World debts? With these questions in mind, IN THESE TIMES talked to Fred Block, a professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and author of the recently published book, *The Origins of International Economic Disorder: a Study of United States International Monetary Policy from World War II to the Present*.

—John Judis

**Q:** Some people have argued that Carter's victory in the election will inaugurate a new foreign policy approach, based on the work of the Trilateral Commission. How much importance do you attach to the initiatives of the Trilateral Commission? Do you think their approach is new?

**A:** I don't really take this Trilateral stuff all that seriously. Once we recognize that [Secretary of the Treasury John] Connally's extreme aggressiveness in 1971 was part of Nixonian irrationality and not part of a new ruling class strategy, then one can see the traditional themes of cooperation with other major capitalist powers naturally reasserting themselves. So in that sense, the Trilateral Commission didn't really break any new ground. And I also don't think they

## AMERICA IN THE WORLD ECONOMY

Fred Block, an authority on international economic affairs, doesn't think that Jimmy Carter went to London last week with a plan that would solve the growing problems that beset world economy, from continuing unemployment to the threat that oil-poor Third World countries will default on their massive debts to Western banks.

have any new ideas about how to manage their conflicts.

The emphasis that Huntington and others on the Trilateral Commission put on the "excess of democracy" is an indication of the weakness of their managerial initiatives (see Samuel P. Huntington's *Crisis of Democracy*). If you have got a good plan, you don't sit around bemoaning excessive democracy; you just undermine it—the way Harry Truman and Dean Acheson did after World War II.

So I think it is really important not to feed people's sense that the forward looking wing of the bourgeoisie has taken power and that it has a coherent plan to rationalize things. They don't.

**What are the key economic issues that the advanced capitalist countries face?**

One key issue now is the strength of the German and Japanese economies. There is evidence that they have reached a kind of economic maturity, similar to the condition of the American economy in the 1930s. After a long period of dynamic growth with an expanding demand for labor, growth has slowed tremendously and, particularly in Germany, unemployment has become a major problem.

It appears likely that these economies will eventually require higher levels of domestic government spending to produce something close to full employment. But in the meantime, business and government are resisting such steps for fear of renewed inflation, and they are attempting to rely on export demand to

get their economies going.

But this relative stagnation in Germany and Japan and their governments' reliance on export demand make recovery from the recession more difficult for the other major capitalist nations. Nations like Britain and Italy, for example, need German demand to get their economies going. And if Britain and Italy give up waiting for Germany and resort to internal stimulus, they will suffer new inflation and price themselves out of the market. Everyone is waiting for export demand to solve their problems and this can only mean that export competition has to become more aggressive.

As a result, all of the issues of economic cooperation—stimulus plans, anti-inflation plans, currency rates, and trade barriers—become more explosive. They have absolutely no structure for dealing with explosions—they have to make up an ad hoc policy each time, and if things get worse, reaching compromises will become more difficult.

More than that, the "rules of the game" are vague at this point, and individual nations might well push beyond what has been considered "gentlemanly behavior." The Japanese trade offensive in Western Europe is a case in point.

Both Japanese economic tactics and protectionist responses have become somewhat more aggressive. Obviously, that doesn't add up to a trade war and economic conflagration, but it is an indication of the tensions that groups like the Trilateral Commission are powerless to ease.

**► Problem of Third World debts.**

*Another problem that economic policy makers have recently been devoting themselves to is the large debt that the underdeveloped countries have built up to the developed capitalist countries and to their lending agencies? Do you see a critical area here as well?*

In keeping with my apocalyptic temperament, I take the Third World threats of debt repudiation fairly seriously. As you know, private banks have been expanding their loans to Third World countries well past the danger point, apparently because of the slack demand for business loans in the U.S. and Western Europe.

The fear of debt repudiation has gotten so bad that international agencies are now reminding bankers to check in with the International Monetary Fund to find out about the credit-worthiness of countries before they lend any money.

As a result, some banks are "skating on thin ice" and the Western powers might have to come up with a package to rescue the most precarious ones.

Demands for rescheduling debts are likely to become more insistent. These demands have receded in the past few months, probably because the money is flowing so freely, but as soon as the flow slows—which has to happen either because of an upturn of demand in the developed world or because of collective caution—the demands for rescheduling will reemerge. And Third World countries will have the powerful weapon of the threat of repudiation to force some action.

*And the rise of commodity prices, especially oil, will also have its effect?*

Yes, I expect that pressure from commodity price rises to reemerge, and again here the Western powers lack any consensus.

On oil, the key point is that the frigid winter drove worldwide demand very high again, making it impossible for the Saudis to enforce their lower price rise.

In addition, the recycling problem still exists [Eds. note: the problem of reloading OPEC's surplus revenues so that they can be used to finance the balance of payments deficits of oil-consuming nations.] It accounts for much of the huge expansion of loans to the Third World.

The main thing is that deficits with OPEC are still very large, and that effective means to finance them have still not been found.

**► Not a repeat of the 1930s.**

*Do you think the demands of Third World countries for a "new international economic order" that were expressed at a number of international forums during 1976 will be pursued?*

Definitely. I disagree with those commentators who saw the demands as a kind of public relations scheme by American-client states. The demands for a renegotiation of the Third World's debt burden and for the stabilization of commodity prices at higher levels are still being pressed. A major North/South conference on these issues is scheduled for May of this year, and the continued failure of the Western powers to arrive at a common stance will prove dangerous.

The Western powers are still not prepared to take the Third World seriously, even after OPEC, and they lack enough consensus to act effectively when they are placed under pressure.

*Your view of the world capitalist economy is pessimistic. You see trouble ahead. What do you think this trouble will mean politically? Will it presage a move to the left or to the right among the trilateral countries, on the one hand, and the Third World, on the other?*

Well, there are all kinds of difficulties in talking about the Third World as a whole when talking about internal political developments. However, I anticipate that oil-importing Third World nations will increasingly be forced to impose more severe forms of domestic austerity as a precondition for further international loans.

Such austerity measures might well generate the same kind of resistance that Sadat's attempts to raise prices on key consumer commodities encountered in Egypt last January.

At the very least, the regimes in power will be more likely to press the developed nations for debt relief and higher commodity prices when they recognize the political dangers of attempting to enforce greater austerity at home.

Among the trilateral nations, I tend to doubt that a deepening of the international economic crisis will lead to very sudden political shifts either to the left or to the right. After all, even if one imagines a complete collapse of the international banking system, governments have the capacity today, and I assume that they would have the incentive, to maintain some reasonable level of economic activity.

I don't think that we would ever have a replay of the Great Depression with year after year of 25 or 30 percent unemployment. We are talking rather of the likelihood that life will get bit by bit more difficult for the mass of the population in the developed world—more unemployment, more inflation, higher taxes, and so on.

While people's faith in the governments of the status quo will continue to deteriorate, it would be a mistake to expect the kind of apocalyptic political changes that occurred in the '30s.

I think that a dramatic shift to the left depends on something more than people learning the lesson that capitalism doesn't work.

## Massacre in Turkey

UPI



Bodies of slain demonstrators and torn banners lie on the ground from police gun fire at a May Day demonstration in Istanbul organized by Turkey's second largest labor organization, the Confederation of Progressive Labor Unions. Police said at least 37 persons were killed and dozens more were wounded in the demonstration of over 150,000, only the second of its kind in Turkey.

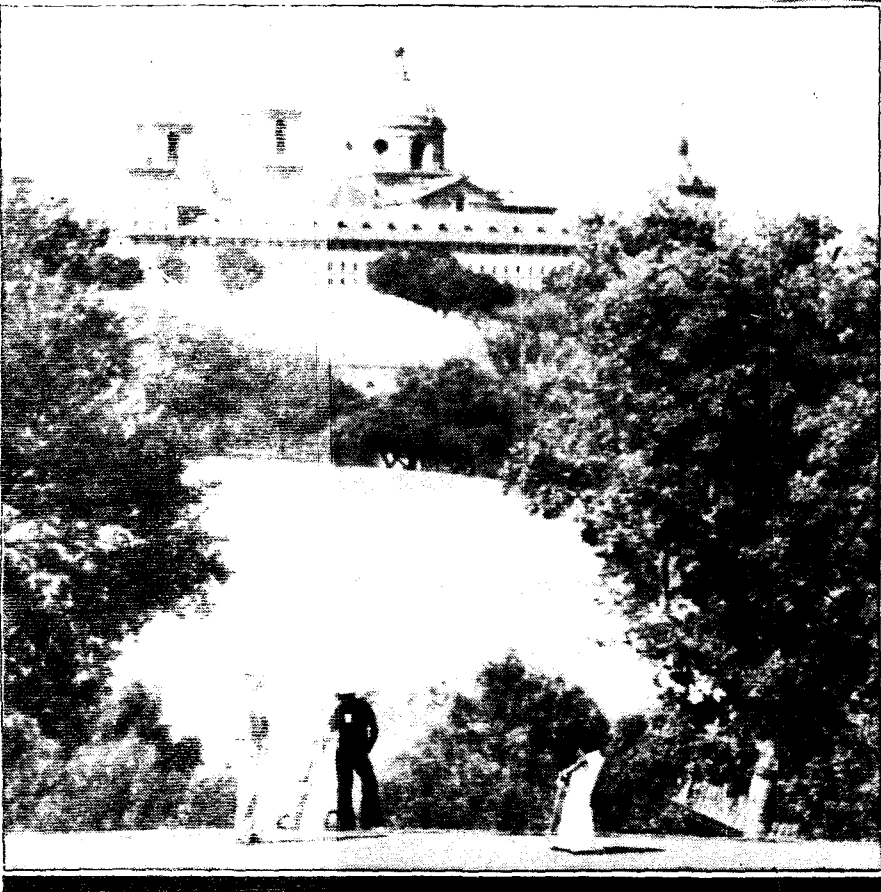


# Spain: The Hesitation Waltz

Alvah Bessie, civil war veteran and author of *Heart of Spain*, returns to report on the climactic changes that have taken place in Spain since Franco's death.



(Right) Generalissimo Francisco Franco in 1966.  
(Below) A Spanish golf course where the middle class Franco created olys



Paris, Oct. 6, 1976. My wife Sylviane had to fly back to California, so I saw her off at the monstrosity named after Le Grand Charles one day at noon, and one week later I went on to Florence to attend the 40th anniversary reunion of the International Brigade, which had fought in the Spanish Civil War on the side of the Republic against the rebel forces led by General Francisco Franco and his Nazi and Italian fascist allies.

Italy, France and Spain are not only in crisis today, but their Americanization proceeds apace—which possibly horrifies only romantics of the sort who would volunteer to fight in a war that was “none of your God-damned business,” as Gary Cooper put it to me way back in 1943 in the Green Room at Warner Brothers’ Burbank studio.

That was the same day I complimented the great actress Katina Paxinou for her performance as Pilar in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, and said that she must have spent a lot of time in Spain. She said she had never been there.

“But,” I said, “you were the only real Spanish woman in the film.”

“Thank you,” she said. “Let’s say I was influenced—I mean, I learned a lot from a woman I heard speak at the *Vel D’Hiver* in Paris in 1938.”

That woman, of course, was Dolores Ibarruri, known as *La Pasionaria*.

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Madrid, Sept. 5. In Lisbon we had picked up a copy of Madrid’s monarchist newspaper *ABC*. Commenting on the new King’s alleged attempts to liberalize the machinery of the fascist regime (instead of demolishing it), it mentioned briefly that the

government had turned down Dolores’ application for a passport to return home, as well as that of Santiago Carrillo, secretary of the Spanish Communist party, who had actually been living in Madrid since last January.

Therefore we had a pleasant shock when we left our hotel that afternoon to go to the Casa Botin for its roast suckling pig. We saw Dolores’ beautiful aged face, and her name in large capitals on every newspaper kiosk and in every bookstore. They were displayed on the cover of a magazine called *Tiempo de Historia* in which a chapter of her autobiography, *El Unico Camino*, was being reprinted.

Less a shock than an occasion for dismay was the proliferation of American and multinational corporate names on every street in every major city in the land: Xerox, Caltex, IBM, Coca-Cola (now getting a run for its money from Pepsi), Kelvinator, Phillips, GE and Ford and General Tires, National Cash Register and SKF and Standard Electric, Braun, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Westinghouse and Bank of America.

A pall of smog hung over the city all day, but was generally dissipated in the early morning by winds from the Sierra Guadarrama. “The air of Madrid is so subtle,” say the *Madrilenos*, “that it can kill a man and will not blow out a candle.” With the coming of industrial smog to the heart of Spain, the old adage has taken on an added bite.

The majority of the people on the streets were poorly dressed, even shabby, and the usual contrast between the luxury shops on the Castellana and the poverty of the people was blatant. Yet the

young men and women strolling during the afternoon *paseo* seemed happy; they laughed and kidded; courting couples boldly walked with both arms around each other, which is difficult to do and very new for Spain.

The real change in the land—the real contradictions now at grips with each other—were exhibited beautifully on Sept. 5. Both *ABC* and the new independent liberal *El Pais* featured front-page stories of the first open meeting in 37 years of the anti-franquist opposition.

This took place in a Madrid hotel and was convened by the newly-formed Democratic Coordination, an amalgam of 16 newly surfaced political parties and working class organizations from the Communists to the center and beyond. The papers referred to it as a “summit” (*cumbre*), and its decisions were reported with astonishing objectivity in the news-columns. The editorial comment of establishment papers like *ABC*, *Ya*, *Arriba!* (the Falangist sheet) ranged from cautious to hysterical.

The Coordination was talking about the immediate necessity for “a centralized political program of democratic breakthrough” that would open a constitutional period based on:

“a. Democratic liberties; b. Trade Union liberty; c. Amnesty without any exceptions; d. Political rights for the nationalities and regions (Catalonia, Galicia, the Basque country, etc.).”

But besides the fascist structure created by Franco which is intact in every city and village in Spain, the Coordination had to reckon with a government that says, in effect, that there are four facts of Spanish life that are not negotiable:

- 1. The question of the monarchy (its existence);
- 2. The question of the army (its power);
- 3. The question of the Communists (their illegality) and
- 4. The question of regional autonomy (none for the Catalans, Basques, Galicians, etc.)

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Madrid/Segovia, Sept. 6. We had a map of Madrid that Sylviane had picked up in 1953 and it puzzled us so much that we stopped to ask a taxi-driver the way to the Gran Via so we could find the Segovia road.

“There is no Gran Via,” he said. “It’s called Jose Antonio...for the time being.”

That bitter Spanish crack, *de momento*, had lasted almost 40 years, for every large city and many villages have a street named after Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falange and fascist martyr who was shot by the Republic in 1936. Just as they also have a Generalissimo.

You may visit El Pardo castle outside Madrid, where the late ruler acted out his role of monarch. While Jose Antonio was reinterred by his order in 1939 in the most hallowed spot in El Escorial, the traditional tomb of Spain’s many monarchs, Franco built his own Paronic mausoleum in what he called The Valley of the Fallen, to which he transferred Jose Antonio’s martyred corpse again.

Franco is guarded 24 hours a day by the military and lies under a hundred tons of granite (“So he can’t get out,” the Spanish say) and you may visit both of them if you turn left off the road to Villacastin and the old Iberian city of Segovia.

(Continued next page.)



## Spain: The Hesitation Waltz

"Franco sleeps but Francoism remains and must be swept out of the political life of our country, so that Spain may recover the equilibrium smashed by the fascist insurgency of 1936..."

"Neither Juan Carlos nor the new governors can dream that it is possible to seriously stabilize the politics of the country without opening the road to the legitimate aspirations of our people."

ia, whose 16th century cathedral and aqueduct (the largest Roman structure left in Spain) are its twin glories.

With the slow death of Spain's living mummy, the lid on the simmering Spanish *olla*, which had been rattling for more than a decade, showed signs of blowing off. It had almost blown off in 1951 when inflation and unemployment were at their height and oppression of the poor and dissident was at its most brutal.

That was the time Spain was ripe to be sold again. The old allies were long gone—one a suicide in the bunker under the wreckage of his Chancellery, the other having been hanged by his heels from a lamp-post at a gas-station in Milan.

Now there was a new suitor. In 1951 the U.S. sent Admiral Forrest Sherman, then chief of Naval Operations, to El Prado where the first deal was made, by which we kept the regime alive in exchange for the right to military, naval and airbases (and later missile-pads) all over the Iberian landscape. That deal was consummated in 1953, and it had been renewed regularly as Franco hiked the price and the U.S. paid.

But in a land in which all political parties except the Falange were banned, Spaniards were already forming illegal parties that met openly abroad and clandestinely at home. Although trade-unions had been abolished in 1939, Spanish workers formed illegal "Workers' Commissions," and for years before Franco died they had become so powerful that employers were forced to bargain with them if they wanted any work done.

Driving across the Sierra Cuadarrama, where the militiamen and women who had been armed in the streets by their Republic, had fought and died to hold off Franco's "four columns marching on Madrid," you were reminded of the past and the future by slogans scrawled on the ragged rocks in giant letters. You saw them all over Spain, for that matter.

They demanded: AMNISTIA! they demanded LIBERTAD! and DEMOCRACIA! They said, REY...NO!, and REPUBLICA III! They exhorted the traveler: NO COMPRE HIPER! Don't buy at the *Hiper*, the name of a chain of *supermercados* that are not only forcing small grocers, butchers and vegetable dealers out of business, but pushing prices up all the time. In May of 1976 the cost of living jumped 4.58 percent—the greatest increase in any month since the civil war.

In the last two years the Spanish people have moved from active to militant resistance, and since November 20, 1975, when the word came that The Most General had finally and really and truly given up the ghost, there has not been a week that has not seen strikes and demonstrations in every province of Spain. Why are so many people so willing to expose their heads to police clubs, tear gas and rubber—and

metal bullets?

Items:

**December 1975:** Marcelino Camacho, Communist leader of the Workers' Commissions, is released from prison under a "pardon" announced by the new king, which Camacho labels an insult to the thousands of others still held. He says the working-class movement does not recognize Carlos' monarchy and will campaign for free elections to determine what the Spanish people actually want, and "we'll accept their verdict."

Civil Guards in the Basque country kill an 18-year-old youth they call "a separatist guerilla"... seven days after his release, Camacho is jailed again. Madrid police arrest almost 300 people and club them into vans in a sudden crack-down on the opposition, breaking up a demonstration at Carabanchel prison.

The army has to run the Madrid subways in the face of a wildcat strike; 3,000 electrical workers march into the city in support of the subway strikers.

Challenging the King, a council is formed in Barcelona to act as a provisional government for an autonomous Catalonia... Manuel Fraga Iribarne, ex-Franco minister billed as "reform-minded" is named Minister of the Interior as thousands of workers go on wildcat strikes and Camacho is released again!

Carlos says he will bring democratic reforms to Spain—and swears allegiance to the principles of his dead mentor who trained him for the job from the age of 10. ...Fascist goons who call themselves "The Guerrillas of Christ the King" attack an amnesty rally in Bilbao and blow up a bar in San Sebastian for no observable reason.

Juan Carlos' cabinet promises to expand civil liberties, but sets no date... police club demonstrators at the Ministry of Justice in Madrid and the Guerrillas of Christ the King bomb a bookstore and shoot a university professor in the leg... The King greets his people for Christmas and calls on them to unite behind the legacy Franco has left them... In Guernica, 1,000 Basques meet to form a Democratic Assembly that calls for the autonomy, freedom for all political prisoners, freedom of expression and assembly.

**January, 1976:** The Rev. Luis Maria Xirinachs leads a demonstration for amnesty in Barcelona; 5,000 Basques demand freedom for 1,500 political prisoners; 3,800 transit workers stage an illegal strike in Madrid and 2,500 are tear-gassed... There are strikes by longshoremen in the ports, students in the cities; 100,000 postal workers walk out and 60,000 railroad workers who are promptly drafted into the Army together with the postal strikers.

**February:** There are riots in Barcelona, Madrid and in the Basque country, suppressed with great brutality. When 50,000 demonstrate for autonomy in Barcelona,



the police are helpless; when 250,000 workers in banking, construction and metal-working go on strike throughout the country—the government devalues the *peseta* by 11 percent...

In Madrid 50,000 protested police killings in Vitoria, at the funeral of the three victims; hundreds of thousands elsewhere in the Basque country walked out in sympathy; truckdrivers in Madrid stopped working and so did 60,000 textile workers in Barcelona, as well as its journalists.

Between April and June there were demonstrations of 5,000 in Madrid, in which all three Roman Catholic bishops participated and the police did nothing... On May 1 in Barcelona Father Xirinachs was told by police to move along and when he refused, they stripped him and beat him with clubs for an hour and a half—along with others... Marcelino Camacho went through the revolving doors—into Carabanchel prison once again. Construction workers went out again in Barcelona and their demonstration was crushed by the police... Four hundred were arrested on May Day throughout Spain—and 2,000 Communists met openly in Madrid for the first time since the Civil War... and were not molested.

Carlos promised more reforms: the legalization of independent unions and a bicameral *Cortes*, most of whose members would be elected by secret ballot... The Right, referred to as "the bunker" in deference to its idol, Hitler, denounced these mild measures and held rallies to honor the memory of The Mummy. They told the King to keep out of politics and Carlos replied by banning another memorial rally. It was held anyhow, in the form of a mass, in The Valley of the Fallen. The bunker claimed 500,000 attendees; the newspapers counted 5,000.

On June 2 the King flew to the U.S. The next day he addressed both Houses of Congress and promised "authentic liberty" for his people. Within 24 hours, the President of the U.S. backed Spain for NATO membership; within 48, Carlos assured American businessmen in New York that he would maintain order and was prepared to offer liberal terms to U.S. investors. On 22 June, a Treaty of Friendship with Spain was ratified by the Congress, the sum of \$1.2 billion and a nuclear reactor were authorized. (It will join the first one on the Ebro River.) On June 23 a consortium of American and European banks granted a billion dollar loan to Spain. The *New York Times*, reporting from Paris the same day, quoted an anonymous banker: "We think Spain is now a good risk..."

On the same day there was a huge protest in Madrid for amnesty and against the high cost of living. The pattern of confusion should be manifest: it is not two steps forward and one step back; nor is it

one forward and two back. More accurately, it is still one forward, one back, *de momento*.

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Segovia/Avila/Toledo, Sept. 7. On the road in Old and New Castile, you remember how poorly dressed the people were in Madrid; how tasteless the food in the dirty working-class restaurants and *tapa* bars; how luscious it was (and how expensive) at the *Antigua Casa Sobrino de Botin* (founded in 1725), how many languages were spoken at the tables—and how little Spanish.

You notice how cautious the hotel help is, everywhere, when you ask, "Do you like the King?" and they reply, "Why not?" A cab driver said, "King, no King; what's important (gesture) is what goes in the mouth. (A pause.) What the hell do we need with a king? We had one for almost 40 years. *Paco el Primero*."

You visit the truly Spanish cities of Segovia, Avila and Toledo. You wonder why the Alcazar of Segovia, which you have never seen, looks so familiar. Then it hits you: it was stolen by Walt Disney to serve as a backdrop for Tinkerbell's aerobatic maneuvers! (Or was it Mad King Ludwig's Neuschwanstein castle in Bavaria? They look somewhat alike.)

It becomes clear, too, why you remember these irrelevancies: because the Spanish poor are with you everywhere; they have come to stare at the great heritage of their past; the tombs of the long-dead kings and queens and *infantas*. They have come, like you, to gape at the Roman aqueduct with its double row of arches, some towering 90 feet above the streets of Segovia, constructed of great granite blocks held together without a drop of mortar. They too wander through the walled Roman city of Avila and visit Toledo where El Greco is turned into cash just like Shakespeare in Stratford.

Toledo is a great montage of medieval and modern junk manufactured in millions of reproductions, "authentically, by local craftsmen," in metal, wood and plastic, in all sizes and at inflated prices for tourist and native alike: swords, battle-axes, lances, halberds, maces, sabers, pikes; arquebus and two-handed swords; suits of armor and that ghastly spiked iron ball attached to a wooden handle by a chain, which is called a Morning Star.

Longer chains hang from the walls of the cathedral and a student priest said they were the chains of prisoners from the time of *Los Reyes Catolicos, Fernando y Isabel*. He did not stay to resolve our confusion, or did he mean they were the chains of prisoners whom Ferdinand and Isabella had liberated?

Toledo/Coroba/Sevilla, Sept. 9. The dry plains of Castile are gorgeous with a brooding air that brings to the literary mind Unamuno's phrase, *el sentimiento tragico de la vida*, and they depressed Sylviane un-





Photos by Robert Capa of the fascist bombing of Madrid in 1936, one of the first civilian bombings ever. (Far left) A bombed-out building. (Middle) Soldiers and civilians sighting one of the Republic's aircraft. (Above) Women and children huddled in a subway during an air raid.

til we had crossed most of the 385 kilometers between Toledo and Cordoba.

But crossing these high plains and driving through Bailen and Andujar, you begin to notice the new prosperity of the country, the vast vineyards and olive fields in cultivation, the many handsome *fincas* of their owners, each posted for miles with signs saying "Private Hunting Preserve." Bailen is all bricks and ceramics moulded from the abundant red clay soil, and from Andujar to Cordoba there are olive fields as far as the eye can see.

Agribusiness flourishes; there is one conglomerate named Carbonnel whose billboards may be seen for hundreds of kilometers. It grows and markets wine, olive oil, vinegar and mayonnaise and has 332 factories in Andalusia alone.

Other factories produce construction materials and wood products; there are petroleum refineries and metallurgical plants polluting the Castilian air, and just as there are now and hideous apartment buildings around Getafe airport near Madrid (where the U.S. has one of its many airbases), so there are multitudes more springing up like noxious mushrooms overnight, wherever new industry, financed from abroad, appears.

At the Banco Comercial Transatlantico in Ciudad Real, there are two large posters, framed side by side. One reads: LAST MESSAGE OF FRANCISCO FRANCO (and shows him at 40), the other, FIRST MESSAGE OF THE KING (he is 37). Franco warns the people to "stand guard" against anyone who opposed his rule, and he begs the pardon of his enemies. The new King utters easy platitudes about peace and progress and an expanded democracy.

A desiccated but very polite teller who is probably not as old as he looks, works beneath these posters. He says things were much better under Franco, but what does he does not like, what is *bad* are all the foreigners over-running the country—he smiles politely as he cashes your American Express checks. When you remind him that it was Franco and his then-minister Iribarne who encouraged tourism and foreign investment, he says, "Yes. That was one of his few mistakes."

A little pamphlet issued in August and published by the *Bancotrans* explains why the owning class is pressing the monarchy for "reforms" that will finally make Spain a part of Europe instead of Africa; why they are dying to get into the Common Market and destroy the hermetic ambience of the old Spain that the second Republic exposed to fresh air for only eight years, and which Franco's victory sealed for another 40.

As of April 1976, Spain had a balance of trade that was totally lopsided—and had been since before 1960. Rents have been going up steadily since 1966; for

the individual they rose from an average of 39,720 *pesetas* ten years ago to 142,972 last year; i.e., \$602 to \$2,166.

The pamphlet reveals the fact that the population engaged in agriculture has shrunk from 28.7 percent in 1971 to 20.8 in December 1975; the percentage engaged in industry has remained almost identical, even though industry has expanded considerably; whereas those in the "service" industries has grown from 34.4 percent to 40.4 percent in the same time.

The unemployed have also grown from a monthly average of 190,272 to 299,150 (1971-75). But there is no mention in this little pamphlet (*Espana en Cifras*) of the total number without work (2,000,000), as high as it was in 1940-41, nor the 3,000,000 Spaniards who have to work abroad. (They sent home 415 million *pesetas* in the first three months of 1976—\$6.2 million.)

There is no mention of the widely-stated claim that the rich have been sending their money out of the country since the death of Franco at the rate of \$30 million a month, nor that tourism, which (with the foreign-based workers, U.S. military and economic aid and other foreign investment) is the foundation of what economic health exists, has shrunk 30 percent this year (1976). Hotelmen on east, west and south coasts of Spain were crying in September that they might have to close down for the winter.

Now that Spain is considered "a good risk" again, American investments will pick up. It dropped considerably after Franco's "President" Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco was blown over his parish church in December 1973, but German, Scandinavian, French and Dutch investment has continued, and increased, and Saudi Arabia is beginning to appear in the picture, too—a new Moslem invasion?

Carlos Arias Navarro, said to have been "more Franco than Franco," who took Carrero Blanco's place, was dismissed by the King the first week of last July and a new man, Adolfo Suarez, was appointed. This new Prime Minister/president is a caution: billed as a "moderate," he was formerly secretary-general of the Falange and has close ties with an organization of Catholic laymen called *Opus Dei* (God's Work) that has been in and out of grace with the Franco regime for decades. He is handsome, has charisma and is an opportunist.

The moment he announced "reforms" after his appointment, two of the bunker types—Arellaza, Foreign Minister, and Fraga, Interior, resigned. But the new cabinet had no members of the opposition (that is, even the moderate opposition, which calls itself, variously, Socialist, Social Democratic, Socialist Workers party.)

The dismal parade of demonstrations

smashed by the police, arrests and killings proceeds as usual. One step forward, one step back:

July 10: police kill a Basque woman, wound others at a rally for amnesty... and the government announces that it is considering pardons for "most of the 600 political prisoners" it says it holds;

July 12 and 13: demonstrations for amnesty are smashed in Madrid and 30,000 more march in the capitol, in Valencia and Pamplona;

July 14: a new law "legalizes" most political parties, with the exception of Communists, Anarchists and separatists—in an obvious effort to split the opposition, which does not work;

July 17: the government proposes an amnesty for 300 of its "600" political prisoners and a national referendum is mentioned—but no date is set. It is noted that in the first three months of the year there were 30 percent more people arrested for "political" crimes (sic) than in any comparable period of 1975;

August 5: police in Almeria "accidentally" kill a young man; 1,000 others are dispersed, 10 arrested, which sparks further riots in Almeria, Madrid and Pamplona.

On September 10, five days after the Democratic Coordination held its summit in Madrid, Suarez spoke to the nation by television and set forth the long-promised plan of electoral reform:

He promised a bicameral *Cortes*, elected by direct, universal and secret ballot before June 1977. He said the government recognized the basic need to facilitate the transition to democracy; to solve the nation's economic and social problems; to promote Spain's objectives as a nation.

While all political parties will theoretically be legalized (except for, etc.) it was not stated which parties would be registered and legalized; what qualifications were required for such legalization; who would pass on those to be legalized; when they would begin to function openly, and/or how the economic and social problems were to be solved.

Quoting from Franklin D. Roosevelt's first inaugural address, Suarez said: "There is nothing to fear but fear itself."

The reaction was almost uniformly negative. Typical was the editorial in the liberal *El Pais* (Sept. 11): "...The principal promise Suarez has offered the country is that in about nine months, certain deputies elected by universal suffrage will receive... *en masse*, the weight of the institutional problems the government does not know how, is unable to or does not care to resolve... [He] has not negotiated the [plan of] reform; worse, he has said to the democratic parties that he has no intention of negotiating it. He has chosen, with a more brilliant style, the road of his predecessor in the saddle..."

That same day it was announced that Spain would buy \$23 million worth of missiles from the U.S. Four days later 100,000 workers went on strike and the American Congress approved payment of the first installment to Spain under the new Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation: \$36 million.

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Sevilla/Malaga/Costa del Sol, Sept. 20. Once at the coast we went east to Nerja and spent three days in the hot Andalusian sun, although the temperature of the Mediterranean ran from 60° to 64.4° Fahrenheit. Then we drove the dismal stretch from Nerja to Malaga and Torremolinos, and it is there—and along the entire coast from Almeria to the French border—that the Selling of Spain is most obvious, most thorough, most destructive and most depressing.

East of Malaga scores of high-rise buildings near the beach carry vertical signs from roof to pavement reading: BAU HOFFMAN... BAU HOFFMAN... BAU HOFFMAN. The buildings get closer together as you pass Torre and Fuengirola and Marbella, which were once small, backward and "picturesque" fishing villages. The sea can only be glimpsed at rare intervals and you are in the tourist slum of Europe—slums *de lujo*, if you will, far far more repulsive than the Waikiki and Miami Beaches or the Coney Islands of America.

The greed for the tourist dollar has thrown up monstrous things called *aparthotels*, wall-to-wall *schlock* 12 to 14 stories high. In Torremolinos alone there must be more than 50 of these *bauten* that are completed to their venetian blinds—and stand completely empty. At least as many more never were completed. They are instant ruins and may well remain to mock the Roman forts and the Moorish watchtowers on the coastal headlands.

Torremolinos itself resembles any bazaar in the *medinas* of Casablanca, Meknes or Fes, except that the streets are wider and somewhat cleaner. The beggars, hawkers and merchants are about the only people who speak Spanish, and the beggars also carry babies or display their infirmities. A bottle of fair Spanish beer costs the rare native and the ubiquitous tourist alike about 75 cents.

Even tiny towns in the coastal range like Mijas, which only yesterday possessed enormous native charm and beauty, have been turned into the same sort of *schlock* distribution center as Torre. Almost every apartment in every narrow street has become a shop selling souvenirs reproduced badly by the thousands in metal, wood, ceramic and plastic.

Barcelona, Sept. 24. Jose Sole Barbera, leader of the illegal Communist party in Catalonia (Continued next page.)



# Spain: The Hesitation Waltz



Friends help an injured youth after he was hit by a rubber bullet fired by riot police attempting to stop a May Day demonstration last week in the Madrid industrial suburb of Vallecas. UPI

lonia spent six years in prison after the war, and at least another year, in small sentences, since then. He is probably the best-known Communist in Barcelona; he travels freely all over the country and abroad on party business and, "I have not been bothered or even followed for the last three years."

Relaxed, cheerful and urbane, yet with enormous energy and drive, he is more optimistic than other Spanish Communists (and Socialists) I met in Spain, in Paris and in Florence at the Brigade reunion. He says he expects the CPE to be legalized, "not before three months, but not later than a year."

"It is hard to make predictions," he says. "You have noticed of course that there is more money in the hands of our people everywhere—but they are less satisfied with the way things are going every day. With Franco gone, they expected immediate change; they are not getting it."

"The Old Man did one thing for Spain: he created a middle class where there was none before. And we have become a colony of international capital. The people realize this, of course; and this middle class is working hand-in-glove—if you expect the men of the bunker and the 500,000 *viejos* who survive from Franco's army and whose leader says they will accept no change from what the Old Man left—this middle-class is working with the Workers' Commissions and the Church and even with certain elements of the Army, to push, pull and drag Spain into the 20th Century, at last. They want the support of your country and the respectability they think it will confer on a nation that has been an international pariah since 1939. They are interested in democracy, only to the extent that it will forward their interests. They will therefore tolerate certain parties and ideologies, and others they will not—for obvious reasons."

Sole was much encouraged, the day I met him, by the replacement of an *ultra* general who was Vice-President of the Suarez government by a liberal Lieutenant-General named Manuel Gutierrez Mellado. "It reveals a contradiction in the establishment," he said, "and this man would be in a position to take over, if anything happened to Suarez himself."

"We have rarely been in so confusing a situation. Transitional, of course. The question of the restoration of the Republic

is not on the agenda today, but it could be tomorrow afternoon. The situation is very fluid. It is a question of one step forward, one step back—and sometimes one step sideways. But we will move forward in the direction the people are demanding. Can you doubt it?"

How could anyone doubt it? The contradictions were everywhere at hand: in a country where there was more money in the hands of the people than there had been in some time, public toilets on the beaches of the Costa del Sol had no toilet-paper. The people steal it.

In a nation where the official position on the war of 1936-39 is that God was on the side of The Most General and the Anti-Christ on the other, there were three films running in September that reflected that war, and *not* from the official point of view. (One step forward—)

Perhaps the most important and most successful was writer/director Jaime Camino's *The Long Vacations of '36*, which portrays the war in the rearguard, as seen from a small resort town in the mountains to the west of Barcelona. It was crowded in 1936 with city people in their summer homes when the war broke out. Although they were well-to-do and their hopes lay with Francisco Franco, they stayed in the town—where peasants and townspeople sided with the Republic—for three years to escape the first deliberate bombing of civilian populations in the history of warfare.

When the film was first shown to the Spanish censors it was "*prohibido*." Camino took it to the (West) Berlin Film Festival where it won the International Critics' Prize.

Returning from Berlin he was told he could show his film in Spain—if he deleted the final sequence. The penultimate sequence showed the defeated Republican army retreating through the town in order to defend Barcelona. The final sequence, after a long pause on a long-shot of the empty road, revealed Franco's best soldiers, the brutal Mohammedan Moors, advancing into the town. They advanced right up to the camera where the film froze and the definitive word, FIN appeared.

The impact would have been greater with the Moors but it is great enough; the point has been made, and the audience's sympathy is with the Republic—when we saw the film in Malaga, the audience burst into applause when the

Republican flag appeared on the screen.

On Sept. 19 and 20 Spanish newspapers reported the first objections to the Suarez plan of reform, by the Democratic Coordination. It held its second summit meeting in Valencia. Postmen in Madrid had been on strike for five days at that point and two days later one million Basques walked out in observance of "a day of struggle" for amnesty.

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Florence, Oct. 9-11. Almost the first question every veteran of the International Brigades asked on entering the small office on Borgo de Santa Croce, the local headquarters of the Italian veterans' committee sponsoring the reunion, was, "Will Dolores be here?"

Many of us already knew that she would not. Dolores will be 81 this year; she does not travel very much from her home in Moscow. But a roar greeted her message when it was read to the jammed auditorium in the Palazzo dei Congressi, at the opening ceremonies on Oct. 9:

"...until I can greet and embrace you all in Madrid—the heart of Spain..."

Inevitably I thought of the first time I had heard her voice, when she bade us farewell in Barcelona in September 1938: "Comrades of the International Brigades... We shall not forget you, and when the olive tree of peace puts forth its leaves again, entwined with the laurels of the Spanish people's victory—come back!... you will find the love and gratitude of the whole Spanish people..."

Franco would have been 83 had he lived another 14 days but he had been called "the mummy" for at least a decade. Dolores Ibarruri may be 81 but she has always seemed ageless. Hear her speaking to 100,000 people in Rome on her 80th birthday (Dec. 14, 1975):

"Franco sleeps in the *Valle de los Caídos* but francoism remains and it must be swept out of the political life of our country as a measure of national health, so that Spain may recover the equilibrium smashed by the fascist insurgency of 1936."

"Spain, after a brief sigh of relief at the end of the dictator, is very certain today that neither Juan Carlos nor the new governors can dream that it is possible to seriously stabilize the politics of the country without opening the road to the legitimate aspirations of our people..."

The reunion was all over; but it was only beginning again in Spain, in another form. What these 400 veterans had fought for, 40 and 39 and 38 years before might have been called "the last great cause" by Camus, but the cause was far from dead.

We talked of that endlessly during the few days of the reunion. We had come, again, from over 20 nations, this time to memorialize a voluntary action we had taken decades before, and now we were parting from each other again, for how long? Small doubt, forever.

On the railroad platform, waiting for the train to Rome, a short, broad man whose face was familiar from the reunion, came up to me and shook my hand. He spoke no English and I no Italian, so we spoke Spanish.

He gave me his name on a piece of paper; he was returning to Sardinia and this was his address, in case I—and I gave him mine. "California!" he said with amazement. Then, he said, "Things will move fast in Spain now," and I said, "They are moving fast. I was there last month."

He grasped my hand again in his powerful peasant grip. "That's marvelous!" he said. "I have wanted to go for years but I never could. How did it feel? How are the people? Are they smiling? Are they like we remember them?"

I said yes, they were, even though they are all people who had grown up since we left. Yes, I said, they are the way we remembered them and I had spoken to many who remembered us.

"Verdad?" he said with a broad grin. "I love those people. I know they will win. It's just too bad we can't be there again—to help them win this time."

"We will be there," I said and he thought a moment before he nodded his head and said. "True. That's true," and grasped my hand again and stood on tip-toe to kiss me on both cheeks.

## Postscript

San Rafael, Calif., May 1. Some patently astonishing things have happened in Spain since last October, but they do not merit the uncritical praise lavished on the Franco-trained King and Suarez by those interested in touting the regime:

- In November the Franco-packed *Cortes* voted itself out of existence to make way for promised elections in June of this year. It was rumored Suarez had made concessions to these troglodytes (they were not revealed) and a popular referendum to ratify the Prime Minister's "victory" was held in December. It overwhelmingly approved his program, despite left opposition urging abstention.

- In March of this year the government granted workers the right to form their own trade unions, in effect legalizing the Workers Commissions.

- When appointed by the King, Suarez had promised the Army that the Communist party would *never* be legalized. He legalized it on April 10—17 days after the six months set by Jose Sole as the closest likely date.

Despite these positive moves toward capitalist democracy, prices rose staggeringly and the balance of payments showed a deficit for 1976 of over \$7 billion. Thousands of Basques demonstrated two days running for release of all political prisoners—and one worker was shot to death. The cops also banned a meeting of Basque mayors—only to have Suarez decide that the Basques could now show their own flag and that "gradual" use of their language would be permitted.

Every concession seems to meet with instant reaction from both left and right. Eight thousand rallied for total amnesty in Madrid in January and one 19-year-old was killed by "unknown" gunmen. The same week gangsters sprayed a law office in the capitol with machine-gun fire, killing five attorneys. In the next two days 300,000 workers paralyzed industry with a general strike.

In April the Civil Guard smashed a folk concert in the Basque town of Zarauz, clubbing the young people, beating them with rifle-butts and firing rubber bullets at short range. New Basque prisoners are filling the jails and authenticated instances of torture are being publicized. Five thousand cops fought running battles in Vitoria with Basques trying to stage a national day rally.

With the legalization of the Communist party and the probable return to Spain of Dolores Ibarruri, one high military man in government resigned. His colleagues were said to have reconsidered their own resignations—"for patriotic reasons."

This is a dilly and speculations on the reasons for it include the assertion that they have been bought: bought by the King (i.e., the USA, his mainstay). They will have "perks" that are considerable if they act like democrats (but not too much so): Spain will be allowed into NATO and the Common Market; there will be promotions, lush living, more and fancier armaments to play with, prestige, influence.

Santiago Carrillo, ranking Communist under Dolores, has publicly hailed the red and gold flag as the "flag of all Spaniards" and stated that so long as the government moves toward genuine democratization, his party will not press for restoration of the Republic. How this will sit with Dolores remains to be seen: living in Moscow, she condemned Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968; living in Madrid, she may once more become the authentic voice of her people.

The Hesitation Waltz continues—the government releases more politicals—and tens of thousands go on strike against the Suarez economic policies. One step forward, one back, glide left or right—until the Spanish orchestra, conducted by the majority will of its people, strikes up another tune.

Alvah Bessie fought in the Spanish Civil War as a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. He is the author of a book on the Spanish Civil War (*Heart of Spain*); he is a screenwriter and member of the Hollywood 10 and was former editor of the *ILWU's Dispatcher*.



# IN THESE TIMES

## Editorial

# Social democracy or socialism?

In the last three months, several of our readers, and some outside observers have raised the question of social democracy, and whether our politics are socialist or social democratic. We welcome the questions, the discussion, and the expression of opposition to social democratic politics, which we share with the questioners and critics. But we also think that the term has been largely misunderstood and misused—and in some instances that it has been used opportunistically not to clarify issues, but to obstruct thinking seriously and openly about the task facing socialists in the U.S.

Within the history of the world socialist movement, social democracy has a meaning that distinguishes it from socialism; that difference is important in clarifying socialist politics. But because the distinction emerged sharply and clearly during World War I and in the context of the events that led to the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the Third International, the substantive differences between social democracy and socialism have come to be confused in many people's minds with formal and organizational differences that then existed between the Bolsheviks and the German Social Democratic party. We are not concerned with the historically specific formal and organizational differences, but with the substance.

Historically, social democracy emerged, within the socialist movement and outside it, as a movement to accommodate the working class to capitalism. The early exponents of social democracy argued that the ultimate goal of socialism was unimportant, but that the immediate movement, for trade unionism or reform, was everything—and that socialism, or the good society, would simply emerge as one reform after another transformed capitalism into a humane and egalitarian social system. Within the context of a steadily expanding economy this was a viable politics for liberals within and outside the working class, a politics that yielded gains to significant groups of working people. But in the present period, with the world capitalist system reaching the end of its expansionist epoch, the prospects for social democracy are increasingly bleak, and many traditional social democratic groupings in Europe are moving back toward a socialist politics.

In the U.S., social democracy has never been an autonomous political movement, as it has been in Europe, but has been a wing of corporate liberalism. Social democrats in this country have been those who, whether they have simply been liberal democrats or members of the Communist party or the Socialist party, have pursued a politics of reform without a consistent effort to organize a popular socialist movement as integral to their politics. This was a major tendency of left politics in the 1930s and 1940s, as it was also in the new left of the 1960s.

Part of social democracy's political strength has come from its identification with electoral activity and its opposition to these socialists, especially to Communists, who while theoretically rejecting the bourgeois democratic process have nevertheless engaged in electoral politics not to build a socialist movement but to press for reforms within capitalism. But to equate bourgeois politics and social democracy is to confuse a political tendency with a form of political action. It is, moreover, historically inaccurate, since Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, and all other revolutionary socialists in the 19th and 20th centuries advocated active participation in bourgeois elections for socialist at every opportunity.

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with electoral politics and with "bourgeois democracy" not only confuse substance with form, but also implicitly or explicitly reject democracy itself. Socialists oppose not democracy but the constraints placed upon it by capitalist property relations and capitalist political power. It is the perversions of democracy and the various forms of its suppression in capitalist society that socialists have always opposed in the name of the extension and fuller development of democratic social relations.

More and more working people in the U.S., and elsewhere, are moving against corporate power and in the direction of a socially planned and democratically controlled economy and toward a fundamental democratization of society as a whole. We are among the socialists who identify with that movement and who seek not to reform capitalism but to create a popular movement for socialism here and now—one capable of inaugurating socialism in our time.

It is, of course, true that 47 percent of the American electorate doesn't vote, and they include an important part of the working class that must be attended to. But that doesn't mean ignoring the 35 percent who do vote, especially since they include many of the most politically active workers. Furthermore a socialist presence in the electoral arena would provide a reason for many of the non-voters to partici-

pate, which in itself would threaten the existing corporate domination of electoral politics.

Sectarians who renounce electoral politics, and who denounce those who don't as social democrats are gradualists in their own right. Their rhetorical phrase-making separates them from the great mass of working people and puts them in opposition to the development of a consciously socialist popular movement, which is the only possible route to socialism in a modern industrial society like our own.

The politics of these crusaders against "social democracy" stops at the point of protest against the effects of capitalist society—which is to say, their politics, whatever their intent, remain within the limits of reformism. Their vision of fundamental social change involves both a fatalistic, even apocalyptic, expectation of an insurmountable breakdown of society, and then a "spontaneous, or miraculous change in popular consciousness that will lead "the masses" to seek out a heretofore invisible vanguard to lead them to the promised land. They leave the field of ideological struggle among the people at large to the pro-capitalist politicians and intellectuals, which assures continued bourgeois ideological hegemony.

Democracy, and the fullest possible participation by the people in the democratic process, is central to raising the question of socialism in American poli-

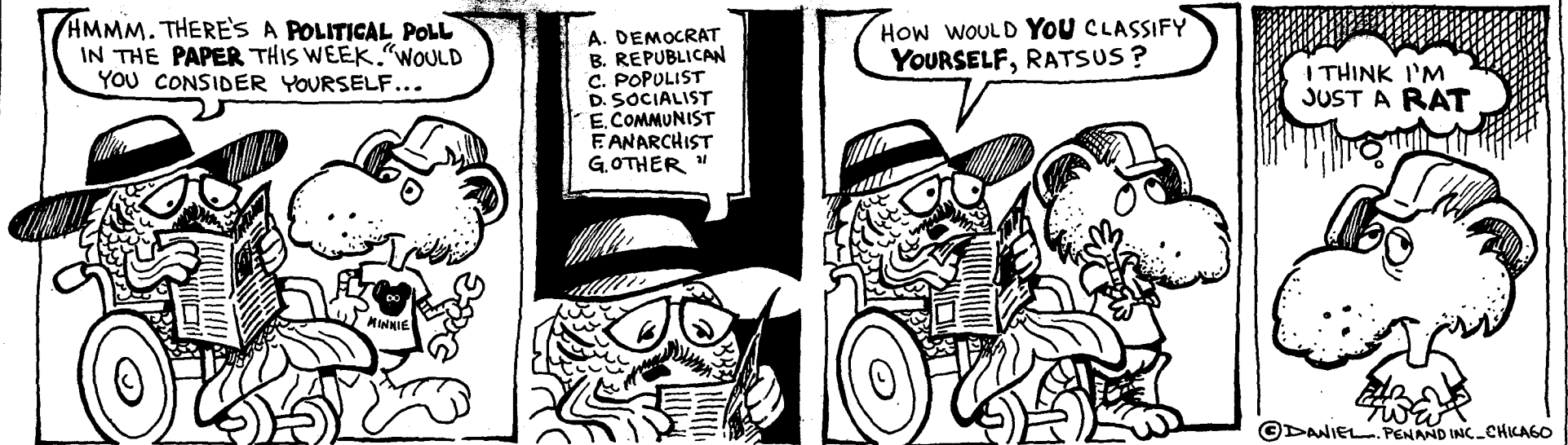
**tics. How else can socialism be identified with the people's democratic aspirations?**

We anticipate and favor a multi-tendency socialist movement in the U.S. We think, therefore, that it is only natural that socialists favor and pursue different strategies, have different priorities, and affirm diverse views. In that diversity, socialists will forge a powerful unity capable of defeating social democratic reformism and capitalist reaction. For it will be a diversity of socialist action in all social and political spheres—in and out of the electoral arena, but a diversity unified around the common purpose of putting an end to capitalism and of building a socialist democracy in the U.S. Such a socialist movement will necessitate candid discussion of differences as the expression of mutual respect and as part of the process of habituating socialists to democratic methods of disagreeing among themselves where unavoidable and of forging unity where possible.

We also favor the public airing of differences and agreements among socialists, so that the people may know about and participate in debates about the development of a popular socialist politics, and so that in their debates and struggles socialists will conduct themselves as responsible first of all to working people of the United States, rather than primarily to internal organizational priorities or ideological preconceptions. —



# THE FACTORY WITH RATSUS AND TROUTIGAN



## Letters

### Tackling hot potatoes

Editor:

After reading T.D. Allman's series of articles on the Palestinians, and also some of the letters that series has provoked, my support is with you all the way. The situation is many-sided and emotionally charged and it seems one never sees even faintly objective analysis of it in either the establishment or the left press. When it is covered it's invariably with a simplistic good guy/bad guy approach that will admit of no virtues on the side opposed, and with no effort to sort out the incredible complexity of national, ethnic, geographical, religious, ideological and economic factors that are involved.

It's worth my subscription to have the information gap filled in this one area alone—and you are filling the need in many others, such as organized labor, Eurocommunism, U.S. democratic socialism, to name a few.

I would also like to express my wholehearted support for your efforts to tackle some of the current hot potatoes of the American left and provoking so much distress among certain quarters.

So please continue the great beginning you've made in helping inform the amorphous left. I've become completely dependent on your paper and would sorely miss you if you don't stay afloat.

—John O'Hearn  
Oakland, Calif.

### More complaints, please

Editor:

I am following up Barbara Ehrenreich's suggestion to complain about the Faye Dunaway cover. Well, I'm complaining.

I'm also subscribing. I found out about *ITT* through WAIF-FM radio, where I am a staff member. I'd like to see an article in *ITT* on community radio and other alternative media projects. Good luck.

—Wendy Foxmyn  
Cincinnati, Ohio

### A hype, a rap and some kudos

Editor:

Jack Scott's piece on NBA star Bill Walton: "Can a Socialist Vegetarian Make It in the Big Leagues?" suffered from headline hype. It promised but never delivered a usable insight into the troubling dialectic involving jock fierceness and socialist-cooperatism.

Such a phenomenon as a "new jock" is evolving from the carnivorous meat and potatoes diet of All-American competition. (Remember high school football?) But frankly, it's a painful process and fairly serious for radicals who love

sports; and if you're going to promise analysis and serve up Jack Scott—then you might want to re-think what league you're in.

So—a rap for headline tease—but kudos for an otherwise superbly balanced and important socialist rag.

—Jim Higgins  
Plainfield, Vt.

### Can't get her hands on us fast enough

Editor:

The copy of *IN THESE TIMES* that comes to the place I work (Development Education Center) is so much in demand there I can't get my hands on it fast enough anymore.

So please start a subscription for me as quickly as possible. Here's a check for \$15.

—Dinah Forbes  
Toronto, Ont.

### Murals corrections

Editor:

You have a nice newspaper, and I enjoyed the important spread on the mural movement (*ITT*, March 30).

But in the course of consolidating my article some errors, omissions and distortions occurred, as follows:

1. Rivera completed 333 murals between 1922 and 1930—235 at the Ministry of Education alone.
2. Orozco's full name is Jose Clemente Orozco; this is correct Spanish usage.
3. Siqueiros' outdoor Olvera Street mural in Los Angeles was *not* destroyed by fire; it was whitewashed in 1934 for its politics. From 1968 to 1973 a campaign for its restoration (which proved impossible due to advanced deterioration) brought the mural to the attention of the Chicano community, especially future muralists. A 30-minute documentary called "America Tropical" (the name of the mural) was made in 1971 for National Educational Television by Jesus Salvador Trevino and can be rented from Indiana University.
4. Rivera's third National Palace mural with the portrait of Karl Marx was painted in 1935, *after* his return from the U.S. and the repainting of "Man at the Crossroads" in the Palace of Fine Arts, Mexico City.

I'm sorry the cutting was so extensive, though I understand your problem. I think it was important to point out that Rivera and Siqueiros had political differences—not the least of which was Rivera's acceptance of commissions from capitalist patrons like Edsel Ford (in Detroit) and Rockefeller. Also, Jim Todd gave an erroneous impression of funding. A great deal came from NEA (after 1970) and from local government, as well as some private (churches, businesses, unions, etc.) sources. I believe community (mostly working class and poor) patronage was much less than the other kind, though *moral* support was high. At least this is so for California. NEA funding can be compared, I believe, to the War on Poverty, and with much the same reasons.

Shifra M. Goldman  
Los Angeles

### Is what's good for Americans good for the world?

Editor:

When I subscribed to *IN THESE TIMES*, I hoped for articles that addressed themselves to the Canadian context. To some extent, this has happened, but you remain almost entirely insensitive to the historical complex relations between Canada and the U.S. This is nowhere better evidenced than in the article by John Judis (*ITT*, April 20) on American labour and U.S. multinationals.

The thrust of the article is for American labour protectionism. This smacks of that old adage of what is good for America is good for the world.

The much heralded DISC program (supported by the AFL-CIO) threatens to take jobs away from Canadian workers by providing incentives for branch plants to pack their bags and go home.

American socialists do not seem to realize that the overwhelming majority of American foreign investment is in Canada. (There are whole books on U.S. imperialism that fail to mention this fact even once!)

U.S. labor analysts (and sympathizers) do not seem to realize that by supporting such programs they are supporting a brand of ethnocentrism that precludes international labor solidarity of even the most elementary kind—to say nothing of the dependency that such a relationship builds on the part of labor towards capital.

Canadian workers face an 'official' unemployment rate of 8.1 percent. (The unofficial rate is about half that again.) They face a government that has slapped them with wage controls that ensure corporate profits. And, now you want them to support a policy of American labor protectionism (which in most cases involves *their own unions*) that will undermine this precarious position further still.

Robert Storey  
Toronto, Ont.

### DSOC again

Editor:

I share Roberta Lynch's dismay at the extent to which her carefully written discussion of DSOC's advances and continuing political ambiguities brought little discussion of the issues. An open, honest discussion of political differences is essential, comrades, if groups coming from different perspectives are to have any real mutual respect and understanding of what common ground they may share.

If the attempt to open such discussion is to be met with angry howls of "sectarianism!" then it is hard to see how any real cooperation can exist for very long.

I was particularly dismayed at Ronald Radosh's contribution to the debate, since I can't escape the sinking feeling that he said a lot of things that he should have known better...

It is very well to cite DSOC's ties to labor leaders as a presage of creating the kind of ties to mass movements that gave the 1940s Communists their strength. It also utterly misses the point

of Lynch's question about whether DSOC's top-down organizing of support among labor leaders may not create serious problems in playing a role in building a rank-and-file movement for union democracy to transform the labor movement.

From the rank and file and the grass roots leadership up, the strength of the CP was built upon a unified, disciplined network of activists that gave the left leadership in the CIO a base which forced the Lewises, Hillquits, and Reuthers to treat it with respect.

The union leaders who have joined DSOC have undertaken no obligations to work collectively or to recruit a base within their unions for a militant, socialist, rank-and-file caucus.

Neither the specious accusations of "Third-Worldism," nor quotes from the hardened raid-baiters of the Social Democrats U.S.A. suffice to answer legitimate concerns about the inadequacy of DSOC's response to U.S. imperialism and national liberation movements. Certainly my own were not eased by the pamphlet from DSOC Roberta Lynch cited, or Harrington's account in *Fragments of the Century* of how he was impressed by Max Schachtman's "socialist" rationale for supporting U.S. intervention in Vietnam to halt Communism, and came only reluctantly to oppose the war. Certainly Harrington and DSOC have moved since then, but how far? Does he, for example, see the liberation movements in Southern Africa as comrades or incipient totalitarianism? Surely the author of *American Labor and U.S. Foreign Policy* will concede that such questions, or questions like DSOC's attitude toward the CIA-linked Soares regime in Portugal, can have a definite impact on an organization's political development?

—Bob McMahon  
Chapel Hill, N.C.

### Somewhat of a Leninist

Editor:

I applaud your efforts to place socialism on the national agenda. As a community worker for the past ten years, I have constantly been frustrated with the lack of regular printed analysis in popular language that I could share with the people of the community. Although there is a lot of work to do, I think you are on the right track. I applaud especially your coverage of cultural events (TV, movies, etc.) along with your articles on cultural history, and—though I think it needs expanding—your political cartoons.

Although I consider myself ultimately a Communist and somewhat of a Leninist, I think the political purists that usually fly such a flag miss the point of the necessity of meeting people where they see the problems and in language they understand. I find it heartening that many of the people of *Socialist Revolution* have seen this and, apparently, joined with others in a broad-based coalition to promote this effort. Keep up the good work.

—Jack Uhrich  
Brooklyn, N.Y.



Roberta Lynch

# Crime and the "rising cost of living" People are at each others' throats



A few months ago the body of Nargas Alvi was found in the freezer of the grocery store that she and her husband operated in the Chicago area. She had been murdered. The Alvis were natives of Pakistan who had lived in this country for 19 years. Now Mr. Alvi, his child and several friends are planning to move back to their native country.

"Americans are turning their country into a jungle," one of the friends said. "The whites always blame the Negroes. It's not so easily done here where there are no Negroes (the store was in an all-white neighborhood). Killers are just killing everybody."

In explaining the decision to leave, another friend said, "With all the benefits we were getting from the U.S., we are still paying a hell of a price."

Some people brush off the fear of crime as a mass media-induced hysteria. Maybe I've just fallen for the bait, but I think it's a mistake not to recognize that something is seriously awry.

Our view of reality is formed not just by the media, but by our own experience. Talk with people in any community where crime is an important issue and you will almost inevitably find that they know people—friends, neighbors, co-workers—who have been victims of crime. Within the past month a woman was raped and murdered a few blocks from one of my friends' apartment (it was barely mentioned in the press) and a man was found murdered in the apartment building next to mine.

Most disturbing is the casual and gratuitous violence of the current crime syndrome. Gone is the image of the Bonnie and Clyde who hated to shoot anyone. So is that of the starving man, reluctantly driven to crime by the need for bread. In their place is a scourge of crime whose only purpose seems a kind of blind viciousness. A grocer willingly

empties his cash drawer, and is shot dead anyway. A young girl is raped and burned all over her body with cigarettes.

Second is the randomness. Almost no neighborhood is now considered safe after dark; there are incidents of stabbings on crowded subway cars; and we read of "home invaders" who burst into houses even as people sit watching TV.

The ineptness of the police in dealing with this situation is widely recognized. Sometimes they don't come when called (or at least not till much later). They frequently insult female victims of sexual crimes and pursue their cases indifferently. And they often ignore black people who are trying to get help. A recent study in one major city showed that less than 25 percent of reported crimes ever get to court. And victims live in fear of repeated attack (in Chicago more than 50 percent of the women raped in their homes are the victims of second assaults.)

Out of all this emerges a strong desire for order. Unfortunately, this impulse increasingly takes the form of calling for harsher laws, more police, more hardware, and in some cases, more repression. Nearly all of the anti-crime measures under consideration in government circles represent a narrowing of our civil rights, even possible violations of our constitutional rights. But the situation is pushing many people to the point where they may tolerate fewer rights in exchange for the promise of order. This yearning poses a danger to political freedom. If for no other reason, it requires that the left pay greater attention to the problem of crime. But there are other reasons as well.

The rise of crime is producing a sense of insecurity in our social interaction. A large part of our feelings about the cities we live in, our homes, public trans-

portation, being women (or men), are influenced by the fact that even in an average-size city in the U.S., we now live among strangers. The village, small town, or neighborhood in which people could all know each other—at least by sight or reputation—are gone.

How we cope with this situation depends largely on how we perceive our larger environment. On the whole these days, it seems pretty damn hostile. Most basically, people are afraid. But the social relations that have developed as a result have even come to dominate situations where there's little to fear. People have withdrawn into themselves. Strangers appear inherently threatening.

People put packages on the subway seat next to them in the hope of preventing anyone from sitting there. They train their dogs to snarl at strangers. They train their kids not to speak to strangers. And current surveys now show that security is the number one feature that people look for in choosing a home.

In one study a small child approached people on a busy downtown street, saying he was lost and asking for help. The results varied from city to city, but overall less than 50 percent of the adults that were asked for assistance were willing to do anything at all.

While all of us have probably encountered exceptions to this trend, we usually view them with considerable amazement. They do not fit the dominant pattern of "avoid thy neighbor."

This hostile social climate is common in all sectors of society, but women, minorities and working class people are most affected. Women find it difficult to walk alone comfortably after dark, to wear casual clothes in summer, to go to a bar without a man, to live in a first-floor apartment. And so women's attitudes toward men become more closed.

You simply cannot afford to treat strange men as fellow human beings.

If a man smiles at you and you smile back, he may begin to follow you. If a man pulls up to you in a car, he may be lost and need directions, but at night or if you're alone, it's not very wise to wait and find out.

For blacks the problem is different. Black people are a disproportionately high percentage of crime victims. A recent anti-crime rally in Detroit drew over 5,000 people, nearly all of them black.

Moreover, this racist society is one in which all the dominant cultural mechanisms act to develop and reinforce the racism of white people. Most whites' deepest fears of violent crime are associated with blacks, who they view as inhabiting another moral universe. And, on some level, they recognize that blacks have deep-rooted grievances against white society.

The antagonism toward open housing, the violent reactions when blacks begin to move into a neighborhood, the fierce hostility to busing—all of these have their roots not just in a generalized racial prejudice, but in these specific fears. The promise of equal opportunity for blacks is made a mockery not just by the institutionalized racism of the power structure, but by a complex process in which white working people help to perpetuate racial oppression because of fears that have been created by a social set-up that—quite literally—keeps people at each other's throats.

(Next week, Lynch will suggest reforms for which socialists should fight.)

Roberta Lynch is national secretary of the New American Movement. Her column appears regularly.

Melvin L. Wulf

## Britain denies Agee freedom of Speech: Home Secretary won't say why he is ousted

Philip Agee, author of *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, who has been ordered deported from England where he has lived and worked for more than four years, has never been told why. All that he has been told is that he "maintained regular contact harmful to the security of the United Kingdom with foreign intelligence officers; has been and continues to be involved in dissemination of information harmful to the security of the United Kingdom; and has aided and counseled others in obtaining information for publication that could be harmful to the security of the United Kingdom."

Agee and his lawyers have consistently tried to have the Home Secretary reveal the facts behind these three allegations, so that he might answer them, deny them, refute them, argue that whatever he is supposed to have done, he was free to do under British law, or try to show that none of his activities were harmful to British interests. But letters to the Home Office, public demands, editorials and questions by members of Parliament in the House of Commons have all been met with a great silence or with statements that to reveal the details would itself cause further injury to "national security." Not knowing what he has done to endanger Britain, Agee has been unable to defend himself.

In an attempt to give the deportation proceedings an atmosphere of fairness, a three-man panel was appointed to take evidence and then submit a recommendation to the Home Secretary. The panel said it heard evidence against Agee, but it did so in secret and no one on Agee's side knows what that evidence was.

In trying to answer secret charges, Agee submitted an 84-page paper to the panel that, in his words, "included everything that might possibly be relevant." He added that he would "be pleased to answer any particulars from the Home Secretary or the panel on anything I might have left out." The measure of the impossibility of resolving the dilemma is the fact that his paper recounted every meeting he had with officials of communist governments during the four years he resided in England. He denied knowing that any of those officials were intelligence officers, and denied that any of the meetings involved an "intelligence relationship." All of the meetings, Agee said, "related to my work in writing or in researching or in speaking." Nevertheless, neither the panel nor the Home Secretary put a single question to him about the meetings or pointed to other more ominous meetings that he may have failed to mention.

English law has always been self-righteous about its concern for fairness and

respect for freedom of speech, but this deportation proceeding is distinguished only by its violation of basic liberties. The right to be confronted by evidence and to cross-examine adverse witnesses are elementary principles that define a fair system of justice. Those rights are, of course, observed in criminal proceedings in England, but a system of justice is also measured by the procedures that a state extends whenever any significant right is put in jeopardy by official action, including the right to continue to live where one chooses.

Every country has the right to decide who may live there and who may not. That is generally true, but it begs two questions. First, the British government allowed Agee to live in England since 1972 without any suggestion that his presence was harmful. Second, the question is not what power Britain has in deciding who may live there, but whether the power will be exercised fairly. So far, it has treated Agee unfairly. An alien in equivalent circumstances in the U.S., according to relevant Supreme Court decisions, could not be deported on the basis of secret charges.

Though the British government has cast its case against Agee in national security terms, it must actually be seen as a free speech case, a point of view that, as

far as the Home Secretary is concerned, does not even exist. But on the basis of what is known, Agee is actually being deported for exercising his right to discuss the CIA's illegal covert activities. By deporting Agee, Britain announces that it does not believe in free speech.

In light of everything we know about the CIA, it would be surprising if it were not involved in the decision to deport him. Whether or not that is so, the Carter administration should now break its silence over the Agee matter, publicly announce its opposition to his deportation, and attempt to persuade the British government to allow him to stay. If it is going to be heard on the rights of Soviet dissidents, as it should be, it must also be heard on the rights of American dissidents. If the administration does not act on Agee's behalf, the implication will be clear that it supports the harassment of American citizens who dare to inform the world of harmful and illegal CIA activities, while it refuses to prosecute the officials responsible for the same illegal acts.

Melvin L. Wulf is former legal director of the ACLU and is now in private practice in New York.



Staughton Lynd

# Workers' rights exist before unions bargain

In a recent letter to *IN THESE TIMES*, Paul Booth remarked: "In point of fact, there are no individual rights surrendered by union control of the grievance mechanism, because none exist prior to collective bargaining."

Paul's statement raises the fundamental question: Where do workers' rights come from?

This question forces one to work out a philosophy of labor and law. It is important in the same way that the preamble to the Declaration of Independence is important.

If all the rights possessed by individual workers are created by collective bargaining, then of course Paul's conclusion follows: "there are no individual rights surrendered by union control of the grievance mechanism."

But if workers *do* possess a number of rights before unions come into existence, or collective bargaining takes place, the situation is entirely different. Then the creation of unions becomes analogous to the creation of governments. Unions, on that assumption, are created to secure rights with which individual workers are already endowed. If the union fulfills its trust, well and good. But if, in its handling of grievances or otherwise, the union

becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

My own view, as the reader may have gathered, is that workers do possess individual rights before unions come into being and collective bargaining agreements are negotiated.

I am not referring to natural rights with which workers, like other people, may or may not be "endowed by their creator."

Rather, I have in mind rights created by Federal law. A very partial list of such rights includes:

1. The right to engage in concerted activity for mutual aid and protection (Section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act).

2. The right not to be enjoined by Federal courts when engaging in such concerted activity (Section 4 of the Norris-LaGuardia Act).

3. The right to refuse to perform abnormally dangerous work (Section 502 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended).

4. The right to go into state or federal court to enforce a contract with the employer (Section 301 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended).

5. The right to equal pay for equal work (the Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended).

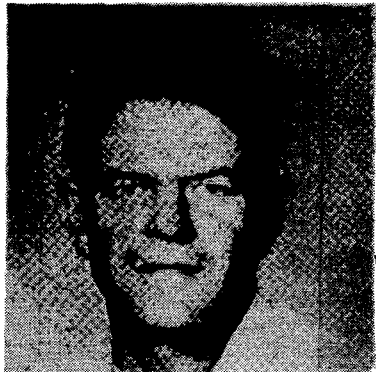
6. The right to overtime after 40 hours of work (the Fair Labor Standards Act).

7. The right not to be discriminated against because of race, sex, age, religion or national origin in hiring, promotion, or discharge (Title VII of the Civil Rights Act).

8. The right to free speech about union affairs, and to a minimum of due process when disciplined by a union (Title I of the Landrum-Griffin Act).

Public employees lack some of these statutory rights but are protected by the Constitution because their employer is the state. Thus, while public employees do not have a right to free speech in the workplace under Section 7, they have a similar right to free speech in the workplace under the First Amendment.

Both private and public employees, therefore, have a wide variety of statutory



or constitutional rights before they join unions, and before they ratify collective bargaining agreements.

Of course, collective bargaining contracts create precious new rights, such as seniority.

But also, collective bargaining contracts typically take away individual rights which workers enjoyed before they had a union.

The leading example is the right to strike. Close to 100 per cent of collective bargaining agreements contain a promise not to strike during the duration of the contract. You might wonder how this is possible, since no less than three provisions of the National Labor Relations Act (Section 7, Section 13, Section 502) expressly protect the right to strike.

The answer is twofold. 1. The law says: "You have the right to strike, but if you choose to give it away by ratifying a collective bargaining agreement with a no-strike clause, you have the right to give it away, too." This argument is erroneous because the ordinary worker has very little control over what goes into his or her contract. It is pure fiction to say that the ordinary American has knowingly and voluntarily given up or "waived," the right to strike.

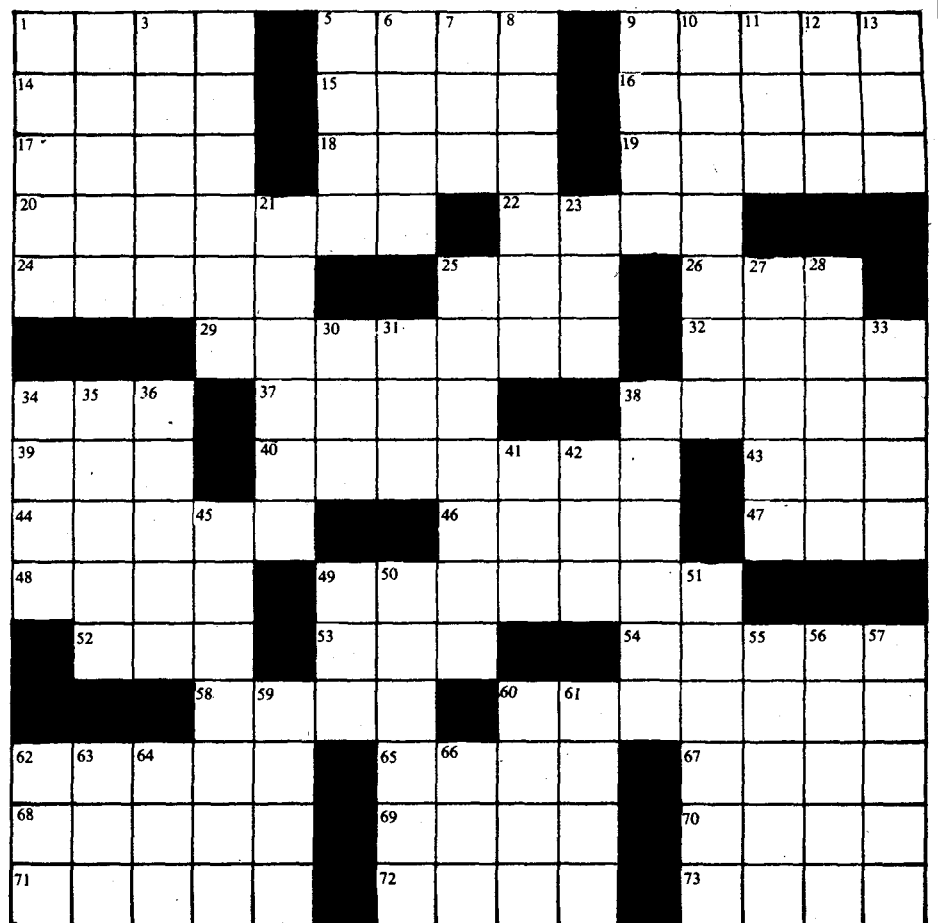
2. The law also says: "It's all right to take away your right to strike because now that you have a union, you don't need it anymore." The assumption here, which the U.S. Supreme Court has said in so many words, is that Congress gave workers the right to strike and picket only to help them form unions. Once unions come into existence, according to this theory, workers should be prepared to let the union represent them rather than continuing to act on their own behalf. This argument, too, is erroneous because there is nothing in the text or legislative history of the National Labor Relations Act to justify the conclusion that the individual right to concerted activity ends when collective bargaining begins.

Interestingly, the Supreme Court has established one big exception to the notion that a union can surrender the statutory rights of its members. In *NLRB v. Magnavox Company of Tennessee*, 415 U.S. 322 (1974), the Court held that a clause in a collective bargaining agreement which purports to give up the right of union members to speak and leaflet on company property, is void. In effect the Court found that free speech is an "inalienable" right: not only a right which you have, but a right which you can't give away.

In future columns, I intend to explore in more detail some of the laws and rights mentioned in this column. I should also like to invite Paul Booth and others who wish to respond to write to me.

**Staughton Lynd**, a longtime civil rights and anti-war activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and Alice Lynd edited *Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers*. His column appears regularly.

## 90 Miles from Home



### Across:

- 1 Solidarity group, with 5A, 34A & 65 A
- 2 See 1A
- 9 Brother of 1 Down
- 14 Form of Elizabeth
- 15 \_\_\_\_\_ face
- 16 Old French coin
- 17 "\_\_\_\_\_ I say, not..."
- 18 Turkish weight
- 19 Willow twig
- 20 Che
- 22 Prefix, turning
- 24 \_\_\_\_\_ death's door
- 25 Blue grass genus
- 26 Burning Chemical
- 29 Bore
- 32 Vehicles
- 34 See 1A
- 37 God of wisdom
- 38 Therefore
- 39 Zoological suffix
- 40 Harlem hotel visited by 1D
- 43 Range of vision
- 44 Oz creator and family
- 46 Snort
- 47 Banned in N.Y.
- 48 Woody's son
- 49 Venceremos \_\_\_\_\_
- 52 Service: Abbr.
- 53 Literary adverb
- 54 As a friend, Fr.
- 58 Lordstown products
- 60 Asphyxial
- 62 Arthur's sword: Abbr.
- 65 See 1A
- 67 \_\_\_\_\_dent or \_\_\_\_\_king
- 68 Lighthearted
- 69 Hagen, *et al.*
- 70 Divisional preposition
- 71 Playa \_\_\_\_\_
- 72 Orient
- 73 Spahn's teammate

### Down:

- 1 Revolutionary leader
- 2 Spanish region
- 3 "\_\_\_\_\_ one listening?"
- 4 Usher again
- 5 Intrigue
- 6 Nutty
- 7 Residue
- 8 1967, \_\_\_\_\_ Heroic Vietnam
- 9 St. Dep't defender of Platt Amendment
- 10 History Will \_\_\_\_\_ Me
- 11 Me, Fr.
- 12 Corrida shout
- 13 Saul's grandfather
- 21 What smoking does to growth?
- 23 Lumox
- 25 Rains from outside
- 27 Havana opponenet, 1977?
- 28 Suffixes of quality
- 30 Cheer
- 31 Direction: Abbr.
- 33 Dispatched
- 34 Vetch
- 35 Japanese city
- 36 Brother of 1D, *et al.*
- 38 Gel
- 41 Siamese twin
- 42 Latin possessive
- 45 Base attacked 7/26/53
- 49 Jujube
- 50 Save
- 51 Greek political slogan
- 55 Sicilian volcano
- 56 Hero of 1D
- 57 Less than two felines?
- 59 Boy's name: Var.
- 60 Establishment legal group, *et al.*
- 61 But prologue?
- 62 Type of cream, in Bklyn.
- 63 Roman noon
- 64 Cuban mass org.
- 66 Lizard genus

## Circulation report:

Our subscriptions are still climbing steadily. We now have over 6,000 and are about to transfer to a computer fulfillment house to handle this growing operation. This means that those of you who have been having trouble with your subscriptions—getting three subs, or none—will finally begin receiving what you've paid for. Our office will be relieved of a lot of work, and the entire operation will be much more efficient.

We want to reiterate that the active participation of our readers in building circulation is crucial to *In These Times'* survival. In the long run, support from our readers in one of the following ways will be needed to insure our success:

1) Teachers!: As you plan your summer and fall course, consider using *ITT* in your classes on journalism, political science, economics, social science, history, etc. We have special 4-month \$6.50 subs and special bulk rates. Also, try to get your library to subscribe. Write for information.

2) Send for our snazzy new subscriptions card to carry in your pockets and hand out ev-

erywhere you go. **Think ITT subscriptions.**

3) Form an ITT Support Group for fund-raising, circulation building and political discussion. Support Groups have met in Philly, Lexington, Ky, New York City, Albany, Boston, Detroit. In Albany a series of "InTT Forums" has already been initiated with a meeting on energy. Fund-raising parties have been held for ITT in Chicago and New York. But we need more activity to help build the paper's visibility and financial base.

4) Try to get bookstores to take the paper. Our terms: 20¢ for the store; no returns; minimum of 10 copies; we will bill monthly.

5) Become a mini-distributor and/or join our new subscription contest—details next week.

6) Let us know about any conferences or large gatherings like "people's fairs" that are being held this spring in your city. We will try to get someone to bring papers and sub cards to the meeting, or, better yet, volunteer to do it yourself.

Above all, individually and with your friends, try to make a commitment to help the paper grow however you can. And if you come up with promotional ideas, let us know about them.

—Torie Osborn  
Circulation



## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## SPORTS

Cities vs. suburbs  
underlying NCAA  
championship

By Rich Klimmer

In addition to providing millions of Americans with an evening of exciting basketball, Marquette's 67 to 59 defeat of North Carolina for the NCAA basketball title was also an important cultural statement on sport in America. The popular press has gone to great lengths in emphasizing the dramatic justice that the bad boy of college basketball, Al McGuire, won his first title in his last game as a college coach. Now that he is leaving, the sports establishment can piously congratulate a man who continually challenged most of the basic beliefs and practices of the college game and its institutional setting.

Most writers on college basketball have emphasized a basic division between black and white styles of play. The more prescient observers would occasionally note that some white players played a black style and vice versa. Yet a careful analysis of recent trends, and of the Marquette/North Carolina game in particular, reveals that the fundamental division, reflecting both physical setting and cultural attitudes, is between a city game and a suburban game.

Marquette's team is comprised exclusively of practitioners of city basketball. Bo Ellis, Butch Lee, Jerome Whitehead, Jim Boylan, and Bill Neary all come from either the crowded black and white neighborhoods of the central city or from the grimy industrial satellites of major metropolitan areas.

Of the players used by North Carolina only Mike O'Koren and Steve Kraficisin share this background, and despite their impressive physical abilities both frequent-

ly appear lost in the complex spread of defenses of Dean Smith. The rest of the Carolina players come from the suburbs and the smaller towns of the South.

The importance of this sociology is that it is a primary determinant in how the game is learned and perceived.

The two crucial factors which differentiate the city and suburban game are space and organization. The city game is basically a half-court or quarter-court game learned in alleys and on over-crowded playgrounds with four baskets surrounding a standard sized court. Consequently, the game which emerges is based on short, slashing attacks on the basket and a continued competition for physical space under the back-boards.

In contrast, the suburban game is learned in well equipped gyms and, more importantly, under the watchful eyes of a coach from grammar school onward.

In fact, the presence of coaches with all of the attendant emphasis on authority, hierarchy and arbitrary discipline is the single most important factor in defining the suburban game. Neither the cities nor the suburbs have any monopoly on developing the individual skills of players. The difference comes from the way in which they are utilized.

In the city talented players learn to mesh their abilities in much the same way that assembly line workers devise mechanisms for fighting the line by developing rhythms and mutual alliances for expanding confined time and space.

The suburban player develops in the context of an office bureaucracy of patterns, set plays, and fixed rules. Dean Smith's four corner offense is probably the ultimate development in suburban

basketball. It was also what beat North Carolina.

McGuire and his players demonstrated how to beat the four corner offense by using basic principles of the city style. Marquette attacked the four corners by cutting the half-court into two small areas. They double teamed Phil Ford deep in back court creating the kind of pressure usually found only in the lane on a drive. At the same time, Bo Ellis and Jerome Whitehead, the two big men for Marquette, refused to come out from under the basket, forcing Carolina to challenge for control of the rim—the real battleground in the city game.

When the uncertain challenge came, Whitehead blocked the shot and Marquette casually came up the floor with all of the defiance and arrogance of a group that knew that this time they were the winners in contrast to all of the shitty factory and warehouse jobs, old cars, decaying two-flats and draft notices that have been their and their friends' lot for a quarter of a century.

At the end, Al McGuire began to weep unashamedly in front of the crowd. Behind all of the sappy praise for this show of emotion that has come from the media pundits and the coaching establishment, one could hear a collective sigh of relief. New York Al, the bartender and street fighter, is finally leaving.

McGuire was a threat to the sports establishment because he broke the rules in ways that benefitted his players. The NCAA prohibits giving players financial and scholarship assistance once his eligibility has run out. McGuire did it openly and regularly so that his players could finish their degrees and challenged any-

one to call him on it by threatening to expose the way alumni covered for the supposed Mr. Cleans like Johnny Wooden and Fred Taylor, with cars, loans, clothes and well-paying non-existent summer jobs.

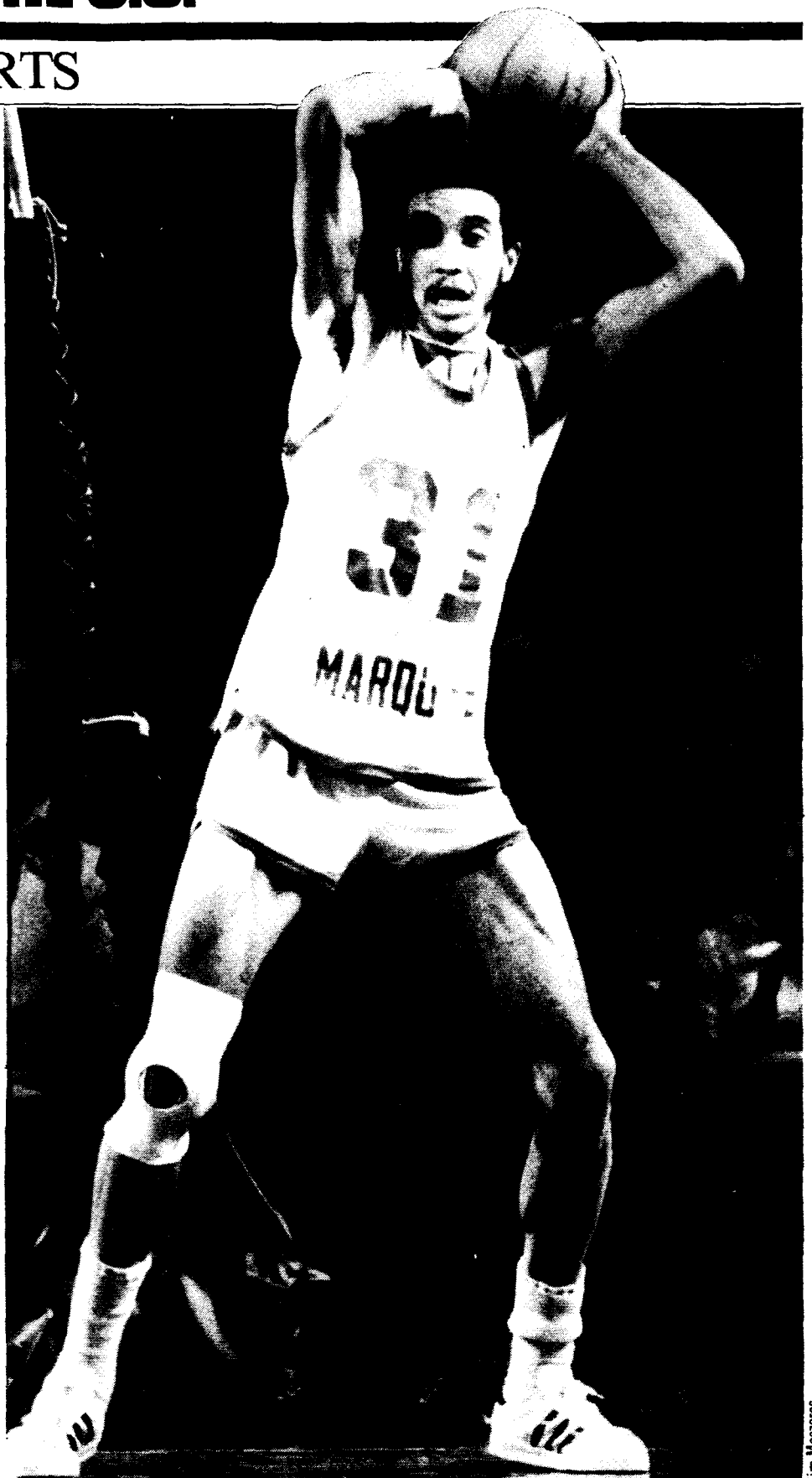
When hundreds of other coaches fought the emerging rebellion of black players, McGuire accommodated to it. When his black players threatened to stop playing in a nationally televised game to honor Martin Luther King, McGuire's response was to tell them not to do anything stupid, just let him know when they wanted him to call a time out, and then they could make their statement without giving up two points.

When one of his white players, a product of Milwaukee's industrial valley, refused to stand during the national anthem in protest of the Vietnam war, McGuire answered the ensuing criticism by saying he wasn't interested in recruiting the Marine Corps drill team.

Best of all, after being punched in practice by one of his players, McGuire stayed away from the gym for a week to figure out what he was doing wrong as a coach.

The Marquette victory was probably the last hurrah for the city game. McGuire proved that it was a winning game, a game that is based on solidarity, trust, and mutual self-reliance in small places. However, it is also a game premised on a value that is too threatening to the sports establishment in capitalist America—treating players as human beings.

Rich Klimmer is an AFT organizer in Florida and is in the Labor Studies Program at Florida International University.



Jim Meszaros



## CITIES

# Little community in shopping in the future

By Ron Aronson

A man was spotted running around the perimeter of the parking lot at Fairlane Town Center in Dearborn, Mich., one midnight recently. It was me. I was searching for my car among the 11,262 spaces, but I was also releasing several hours of pent-up anger and frustration.

Fairlane is the latest thing: a total-environment shopping center of over 180 stores, five movies and a dozen restaurants. "with five ramped levels easily accessible," as the literature proudly points out, "by escalators, stairways and glass-enclosed elevators, the Center adds to its feel of spaciousness and continuity with all levels designed to permit broad views of activities on other levels." Fairlane is also connected by a people-mover developed by the Ford Motor Company to the Hyatt Regency Hotel a half mile away.

Fairlane is the town center of the future, enclosed and climate-controlled, complete with fountains, skylights, "monumentally scaled works of museum-quality sculpture," a waterfall, greenery, intimate court areas "for visiting, resting or people watching" and an ice-skating arena. Within ten miles of downtown Detroit, named for the Ford estate and built on Ford land, it is adjacent to that company's headquarters, Greenfield Village, and in the distance, the gigantic Ford Rouge plant.

The place I ran from was "The Magic Pan," one of a national chain of gourmet-style crepe restaurants. In a shopping center dominated by the lines, materials and spaces of the future, the restaurant conveyed the warmth of the past: wooden beams, plants, real wood floors and doors, wrought iron and stucco everywhere. Instant atmosphere, a respite from—but even more outrageous than—the rest of Fairlane Town Center. Like the rest of the place, it was fake.

### ►The decline of the city.

Voting with their feet and their wheels, Americans clearly seem to prefer the Fairlanes to the downtowns. This, not their fake style, suggests what is most troubling about the Fairlanes of America. The anarchic spread of movies, hotels, restaur-

rants and shopping facilities across the suburbs is a central element in the declining vitality of our cities.

Thus, right after last Christmas, J.L. Hudson Jr., president of Detroit's major department store chain, announced that his company was considering leaving their "world's largest" downtown store because of lagging sales. Competition from the suburban malls was reducing volume downtown. It is common knowledge in Detroit that the departure of Hudson's would be the final blow to a dying downtown. Hudson, of course, neglected to mention that Hudson's itself was the main retailer in six of those suburban malls, or that the downtown Hudson's store's most recent—and nearest—competition was its new Fairlane store. In the next few days downtown's other major department store, Crowley's, with five suburban branches, announced plans to leave in June.

In their goings and comings the businesses who move to the suburbs play a major role in shaping our environment. On the one hand, as they relocate freely, following only the profit motive, the stores leave behind blight. Their "freedom" has given Detroit enough vacant, deteriorating, boarded-up storefronts to line both sides of a street for 140 miles.

The drive back from Fairlane to Detroit gives the picture: construction and dynamism there, blight and decay here. The one causes the other. Retailers move because the stores in the suburbs are more profitable. Relocation is dictated by the hard laws of the profit system.

Relocation of shops also means relocation of jobs to the suburbs, adding considerably to inner-city (especially black) unemployment, cynicism and crime. And a sense of inevitable decline among the poor and elderly left behind in the zone of deterioration.

### ►Impose a way of life.

The Fairlanes of America, then, are helping to destroy the Detroit that created them. On the other hand, what they give us in return is equally disturbing: beneath the facade of modernity and elegance, they impose a way of life, an environment that does violence to us all.



In the old days downtown was nearby and could be easily reached by public transportation. Shopping, after all, is an undeniable social activity. Taking public transportation to that fundamentally public place that was downtown underscored this. Clustered together within walking distance were doctor's offices, libraries and museums, public parks and resting places, city and county offices, courts and law offices, shops, theaters and restaurants. Going downtown was a social event through and through, a way of experiencing ourselves as part of the community.

Not so traveling to Fairlane Town Center. We cross the distance privately, enclosed in our compartment on wheels, experiencing our community as an obstacle to getting to our destination. How, fighting our way through traffic—against each other—can we recognize the elementary social fact that we are in the same boat as each other, share the same concerns, are part of the same community?

The indispensable key to the Fairlanes of America—as to every aspect of suburban life—is the automobile, and the automobile is also the pivot of the American economy. It dominates and molds our lives not by itself but in the service of contemporary capitalism. Its rule is hardly a beneficent one, as attested to by accident statistics, pollution, the waste of resources and the tying of our material well-being to automobile sales charts.

### ►Not a community.

But here we are at Fairlane on a Sunday afternoon, and there are people everywhere. We have parked our car and have stepped through an imposing entrance.

For a moment we feel the excitement of being in a community. The name, "Town Center," even recognizes the kind of needs we have come to satisfy.

But whatever our deep communal longings, the shopping center has its own reasons why we are there: that we may buy. It is not, fundamentally, a public place—not the way streets and sidewalks and city parks are public, not the way "downtown" is public. At the very least, and unlike downtown, it does not belong to us. The peace movement learned this when it planned demonstrations for suburban shopping centers. Court orders were needed to obtain even limited access for rallies and petition tables.

Fairlane is private property, through and through, owned by Ford's land company and the Tauman Company to make a profit—playing music to us that we may become susceptible to buying.

As a "Town Center" Fairlane—or any shopping center—is no more than a manipulation, a device that skillfully appeals to community-starved suburbanites. If we seek its sense of people and activity it is because as it develops, capitalist America leaves us few other places to "hang out" and have this sense.

Ron Aronson teaches at Wayne State University and is active in the New American Movement.

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## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## These Three Women are the same one in Altman's film dream

### THREE WOMEN

Written, directed and produced by Robert Altman  
Distributed by 20th Century-Fox, Rated PG

Robert Altman is an interesting filmmaker and a great public relations man. Sometimes he is also pretentious. In his latest film, *Three Women*, he is all three of these things.

*Three Women* has a dreamlike quality that defies logic and sometimes makes no sense. But then, Altman says the film came to him in a dream. The somnambulist feeling makes the film pretentious because it telegraphs the fact that the characters will turn out to be abstract symbols rather than just plain people. So the three women become three aspects of Woman. You'd better be a more original thinker than Mr. Altman when you get into that game.

To interpret dreams one must first know what they're about. Millie Lammoreaux (played by Shelley Duvall) is a physio-therapist in a desert spa for rich old parties who walk around the wading pool like zombies. Pinky Rose (Sissy Spacek) arrives on the scene to work alongside her. Idolizing her to the point of obsession, she almost crawls inside Millie's skin—takes over her bed, her sex partner and even her social security number. Turns out her name is also Mildred; she just adopted Pinky Rose because she hated her own name so much. Bells ring, lights flash. They are

two parts of the same invention.

We have to wait quite a while for the third leg of our triangle. She is Willie (turn the W upside down and you have Millie), the pregnant painter wife of an aging, drunken, former stunt man (Robert Fortier) and the co-owner of the tacky desert bar-amusement park where Millie likes to take her fun. Willie paints horrible Aubrey Beardsley creatures (part human, part animal) in all aspects of hostile sex. She covers every surface she can find, from the bottom of the swimming pool to every wall in sight, until she has to stop daubing to give birth to her baby, a still-born boy. Janice Rule, who plays Willie, skulks through the whole picture and never says a word. Her sullen silence is oppressive. But then this is Altman's dream, so all must be forgiven.

If it sounds grim, what's good about the film? The performances are remarkable. Shelley Duvall's Millie is a sub-normal valiantly striving for mediocrity. According to the press releases, Duvall improvised 80 percent of her lines herself. Some of them are very funny. A first rate comic, she is master of the telling look, the little head-turn. Her Millie is always not quite put together, earnestly trying to be a good person and take care of all those around her. Mother.

Pinky Rose comes straight out of *Carrie*—an extension of the evil innocence Sissy Spacek



Sissy Spacek, as Pinky Rose, who is one of the Three Women

played in that film. Here she is child-woman and seductress. Believe it or not, Spacek makes the combination convincing and interesting to watch.

The look of *Three Women* is exceptionally beautiful. Camera-man Chuck Roshier has done very well by Mr. Altman. Burned out

desert scenes alternating with soft haziness of image add to the spaced-out mood.

Had Altman taken Polonius' advice ("Neither a borrower nor a lender be.") there would be no *Three Women*. For Altman has taken a pinch of Fellini (8½), a tablespoon of Bergman (*Persona*),

a teaspoon of Antonioni (*Zabriskie Point* and *Red Desert*) and stirred it all together into a dream.

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is a film editor working in New York and is the regular reviewer of films for *In These Times*.

## Peckinpah overskills anti-war message of *Cross*



### CROSS OF IRON

Written by Julius Epstein  
Directed by Sam Peckinpah  
Starring James Coburn, Maximilian Schell and James Mason

In his unrelentingly grim new movie, *Cross of Iron*, director Sam Peckinpah shows that he has not yet learned what Army filmmakers discovered long ago: if you make an overly explicit, overly threatening film, chances are your audience will simply tune you out and your efforts will be for naught.

The Department of the Army discovered this phenomenon making films that tried to convince soldiers to use prophylactics to prevent venereal disease. The VD films assaulted the recruits with graphically gory images of the more grotesque consequences of syphilis and gonorrhea and ended up decreasing the use of condoms instead of increasing it. According to follow-up studies done by the Army, the recruits found the films too distressing and simply refused to think about anything that would remind them of the problem—including condoms.

When in later films the images were toned down, the Army

found the soldiers much more receptive to the message.

*Cross of Iron* is a violent, blatantly anti-war movie, likely to turn off its audience just as those early Army films did.

Set on the Russia front in 1943 the plot revolves around the travails of a German reconnaissance platoon, led by the disillusioned Corporal Steiner (James Coburn). Tired veterans, the squad not only has to struggle against the enemy, but also battle the treachery of their medal-hungry commander (Maximilian Schell) who leaves them stranded behind enemy lines as part of a ploy to get himself an undeserved Iron Cross. The film chronicles their attempts to rejoin the German forces and to see the commander brought to justice.

While the audience is still fresh *Cross of Iron* effectively communicates the grim realities of war. Opening with black and white footage of Nazi propaganda films and rousing march music, the film gradually melts into a silent attack-in-progress by Steiner's platoon. Peckinpah uses images of the brutally silent killing, the farting, filthy soldiers, and their squalid surroundings to illustrate the hopelessness that

marked the last days of the Russian front. These soldiers have long since left behind any illusions created by blaring bands and patriotic speeches, and know war for the hell it is—a hell in which even a birthday party serves only to deepen the gloom.

These early sequences culminate in a superbly directed scene in which Steiner, having suffered a concussion during a Russian attack, regains consciousness amid the torn and battered bodies of the wounded in a German army hospital. Peckinpah's direction of this scene, in which the still hallucinating Steiner sees the faces of his friends projected on the disfigured and scarcely human forms of the hospital inmates, make it one of the most moving cinematic experiences of the year.

If it had been possible to end the movie here, this first half hour or so would have achieved Peckinpah's goal of recreating "war as it actually happened," showing that "death is ugly, undignified, and unnecessary," and getting away from the old war movie tradition in which "people died clean."

Unfortunately, the movie has to go on and, unmindful of the

fact that the audience can take only so much of this horror, Peckinpah unflinchingly pours it on, and on. As the members of Steiner's platoons, their limbs blown away, faces shattered, or castrated, die slowly and painfully, it quickly gets to be too much. It is as though Peckinpah feels he must beat the audience over the head with his message that war is not hell, but worse than hell, lest they overlook the evidence.

In the end, the violence of *Cross of Iron* will suffer from comparison with understated anti-war movies like Stanley Kubrick's *Paths of Glory*. This failure is especially disappointing in light of its flashes of brilliance (especially in the acting of the supporting roles) and the fact that it was made by the same man who directed such superb movies as *Ride the High Country* and *The Wild Bunch*.

It is a pity that as talented and sensitive a director as Peckinpah should waste his talent because he still hasn't discovered something that even army filmmakers know.

—Miles Archer

Miles Archer is a free-lance writer who lives in Chicago.



## BOOKS

## PBC alternatives to corporate capitalism

*Global corporations are dismantling their industrial base here and shipping off their plants to points all over the globe. This mass exodus has helped to throw America into an economic crisis.*

### OWN YOUR OWN JOB

By Jeremy Rifkin  
Bantam Books, 1977

The latest book by Jeremy Rifkin and the People's Business Commission (formerly the People's Bicentennial Commission) is a short, easy-to-read indictment of corporate-capitalism, a call to replace its control over our economy by democratic control and ownership.

*Own Your Own Job* is divided into three sections, the first of which is a vivid expose of the contradiction between corporate-capitalism's expansionary profit-maximizing requirements and people's right to democracy, both political and economic. Corporate control of the political and economic systems; runaway shops, increased unemployment are some of the charges in Rifkin's indictment. "In the process they (global corporations) are systematically dismantling their domestic industrial base here and shipping off their plants, facilities and other capital assets to points all across the globe. This mass exodus has helped throw America into a profound economic crisis."

Part Two points out the weaknesses of both the "apologists" and the "reformers." The former "continue to deceive us with false hope that our salvation depends on the grace and good will of the giant corporations."

"Breaking up the giants [the reformer's approach]... will further weaken our already frail state and render us less able to resist the next time around. In the end we will have to fight a few giants once again."

So far, so good. But Rifkin continues: "Aside from the apol-

ogists and reformers, there are those who preach the gospel of socialism as the answer. If the word 'socialism' doesn't exactly set your heart pounding, it's understandable because it's often been misapplied in countries like the Soviet Union, and none of us are thrilled at the idea of replacing unresponsive, greedy businessmen with unresponsive, self-serving bureaucrats."

This vulgar interpretation does little to enlighten people on the democratic potential of socialism or its application in Cuba and elsewhere. This is particularly disturbing as it precedes the presentation of the decentralized and democratic characteristics of Rifkin's own plan for Economic Democracy. For example, Rifkin's projection of firms controlled and managed by the people who work in them and held accountable to the communities in which they operate, of public banks, public ownership of natural resources, with broad policy determined by the national government—all this has many similarities to the organization of socialist Yugoslavia. But Rifkin does not make this observation and leaves the reader with the impression that socialism is inherently undemocratic.

Part Three is a stimulating look at how activists can challenge corporate rule on several levels, followed by the findings of the Hart Poll—done on behalf of PBC two years ago—on what Americans are thinking about the present political/economic system.

*Own Your Own Job* presents a challenge to socialists to develop and articulate alternatives both to corporate-capitalism and to bureaucratic socialism. French Marxist Roger Garaudy has written: "The crucial problem in a socialist democracy is to bring decision-making, both political and economic, closer to the worker who might otherwise be subordinated to extraneous political forces, personified by a remote, anonymous state." Although it mucks up the terminology, *Own Your Own Job* does address this problem.

—Daniel Neal Graham

Daniel Neal Graham was formerly a PBC organizer, is now a distributor for *In These Times* and a teacher/organizer in the Syracuse Free University.



Morton Halperin

## The Lawless State exposed in carefully documented study

### THE LAWLESS STATE: The Crimes of the U.S. Intelligence Agencies

By Morton Halperin, Jerry J. Berman, Robert L. Borosage, and Christine M. Marwick

Penguin Books, 1976, paperback, \$2.95

With careful and thorough concern for the evidence and forceful commitment to democratic principles, the authors have described and analyzed the secret crimes of "the lawless state"; the CIA's campaign against Salvador Allende; the FBI's vendetta against Martin Luther King Jr.; the IRS files on more than 11,000 individuals and groups.

These presidential and bureaucratic abuses have undermined constitutional principles and exacerbated the crisis of confidence in American government. Furthermore, clandestine illegalities in both foreign and domestic spheres continued long after Watergate and throughout the Ford

administration. Indeed, Ford publicly justified the CIA's destabilization program in Chile: "I'm not going to pass judgment on whether it's permitted under international law. It's a recognized fact that historically as well as presently, such actions are taken in the best interest of the countries involved."

Predictably and tragically, these operations have broken down the distinction between domestic and foreign policy. Lawlessness justified abroad in defense of "national security" becomes justified at home in order to control "subversive" groups: e.g., the FBI initiated a program, COMINFIL, which penetrated such "un-American" groups as SANE and the American Friends Service Committee; and as is well known, Nixon justified the break-in at Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist on national security grounds.

The distressing thrust of the facts in this book is that constitutional principles and democratic processes are pure rhetoric to vast armies of anonymous bureaucrats working for the imperial presidency.

President Carter campaigned against government lawlessness. One wonders whether he can control the agglomeration of vested interests and factions or will he too become mesmerized by the trappings of power and the "imperatives" of national security? To protect against this garrison-state mentality, a firm grasp on past abuses and their consequences will provide concerned citizens with valuable ammunition.

*The Lawless State* should be required reading in the library of this cause.

—Jonathan F. Galloway

Jonathan F. Galloway teaches political science at Lake Forest College.

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## Halperin suing Nixon for damages

The first thing most people connect with the name of Morton Halperin is the lawsuit brought by him (and his wife and three sons) against Richard M. Nixon, H.R. Haldeman and John Mitchell for maintaining a secret wire-tap on the family's telephone during the years (1969-71) when Halperin was a senior staff member of the National Security Council under his friend and colleague, Henry Kissinger.

The suit, which may turn out to be a precedent-setter, passed its first hurdle when a Federal District judge in

Washington ruled that the wire tap did indeed violate the Halperins' Fourth Amendment rights and ordered Nixon, Haldeman and Mitchell to pay damages. The question being argued at present is how much.

The Halperins' attorneys are asking punitive damages under both the Fourth and First Amendments. Attorneys for the defense, supplied by the Carter Justice department, maintain that there was no real damage since the wire-tap didn't cost Halperin his job. After an amount has been settled on, the case can be ap-

pealed, so there is little likelihood of an immediate settlement, either of the principle or the "debt."

In the meantime, Halperin is serving as chairperson of the steering committee of the Campaign to End Government Spying and is an associate of the Center for National Security Studies. (The director of the Center, Robert Borosage, and two other associates, Jerry Berman and Christine Marwick, are co-authors with Halperin of *The Lawless State*, reviewed in this issue.)



## FILM



Paul Newman being wired for sound

## Players scores *Slap Shot* low

## SLAP SHOT

Written by Nancy Dowd; directed by George Roy Hill  
Starring Paul Newman

*Slap Shot* is a terribly uneven film about hockey, violence, class and failed or failing marriages.

At its best it offers sharp, sad—or funny—vignettes of youthful and aging hockey players and the women who suffer them, and throws light on the subtle relations between social class and hockey styles. At its worst, the film distorts the game, descends to comic opera treatment of its violence, and portrays working class fans as bloodthirsty and brutalized.

The story is that of player-coach Reggie Dunlap (played by Paul Newman) and his effort to save the Charlestown Chiefs from financial collapse by media hype, calculated violence and crass, psychological manipulation of his players. Dunlap's effort takes place against the background of the closing of the steel mill in a small Pennsylvania town. The connection between the team and the town is well handled, the players responding sympathetically to the plight of the workers, knowing that they themselves are only an uncertain step from factory jobs.

The players and assorted hang-ons are portrayed with a mixture of deftness and stereotype. The best are the sensitive French-Canadian goaltender (like most goalies, emotional and slightly crazy); the pliable "Killer" Carson, who lionizes the coach, practices "oneness with the universe," and urges the laid-off workers to adopt positive thinking; and the three Hansons, violent brawlers who carry their toy cars on road trips.

Less satisfactory are the characterizations of such stock characters as the locker-room lecher, the insipid sportscaster, and the conniving general manager.

Critical to the film, but sloppily developed, are the Princetonian Braden (a hockey purist and the league's leading scorer) and his wife Lily. Both are from upper-middle class backgrounds and play alienated outsiders, distant from the working-class life around them. Braden, however, provides us with the film's finest moment. Affected in some mysterious way by Lily's appearance at the Chiefs' final game, he per-

**Violence in hockey is like 19th century dueling—a highly ritualized game rarely resulting in serious injury.**

forms a hilariously graceful striptease (no small feat, considering the complexity of hockey equipment)—a delightful counterpoint to the violence, machismo and hints of repressed homosexuality running through the film.

Although the contrast between Braden and his teammates is overdrawn, it reflects some measure of reality. There is a particular style of hockey, once rooted in New England prep schools, which features precision passing, sharp stick-handling, coordinated efforts to set up offensive threats close to the opposing goal and a minimum of rough, aggressive play in the corners. (Ironically, this style has been brought to perfection recently by the Soviet players.)

The same style was practiced in the National Hockey League 20 years ago though always combined with pervasive intimidation and calculated violence. But while the "preppies" remained purist, the style of the NHL, Canadian junior hockey and the old American Hockey League (towns like Springfield, Providence, Hershey, and Buffalo) changed. The emphasis switched to throwing the puck into the other team's corner and either outskating or out-muscling the opposing defensemen.

This game, which relied increasingly on the long slap shot and stressed physical contact in the corners and in front of the net, gradually came to dominate in working-class centers of the Northeast. What it lacked in finesse, it made up for in spirited aggressive play. Fights may have become more frequent, but they did not—until very recently—dominate the professional game or the media's reporting of it.

Violence is associated with expansion, commercialization and TV exposure rather than with an increase in blood-just among working class fans. In fact, the rise in hockey violence is concurrent with increased middle class interest, indicated by the new crowds in Boston and New York.

*Slap Shot* makes no distinction between aggressive but clean play and maniacal violence. The Chiefs are depicted as a spiritless team, constantly backing in on their goaltender, suddenly transformed by the Hansons, whose parodied violence would be acceptable on no rink in North America. They are allowed to trip slash, high-stick, board and charge at will, to pummel the officials, start fights before the game and tape bits of metal under their gloves. Blood flows freely in every one of their fights.

But one of the reasons fighting is so institutionalized in hockey is that it is similar to 19th century dueling—a highly ritualized phenomenon that rarely results in serious injury. The unwritten code demands that sticks be dropped (they are much too dangerous as weapons) that gloves be thrown off (they would prevent that secure grip on the opposing player's jersey that speedily transforms a fist fight into an awkward wrestling match) that a respectable number of off-balance ineffective punches may be delivered before the officials step in.

This is not to say that injuries never occur or that the code is never violated. But the vast majority of fights result in no serious damage. It is, after all, very difficult to land a solid punch while on skates.

Screenwriter Nancy Dowd distorted not only the game, but also its history. She has Reggie Dunlap invoke the name of Eddie Shore in connection with the purity of old-time hockey to which Dunlap yearns to return. Natives of Springfield, Mass., (like me) remember Eddie Shore, in overcoat and fedora, stalking the dank and littered corridors of the West Springfield Coliseum. But Shore's reputation as owner of the Springfield Indians was that of a manipulative and tyrannical taskmaster. As a player he was master of all the forms of covert viciousness outside the code of hockey ethics.

*Slap Shot* is a badly flawed film despite interesting moments and promising themes. It fails to develop any women characters. Its comedy is inconsistent; its ending is pure silliness. A goods film on hockey remains to be made.

—Gary Kulik

Gary Kulik is a former hockey player, and presently a graduate student at Brown University.

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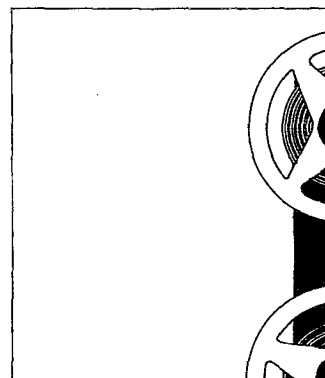
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## NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES



Media analyst James Aronson takes a look at the **Nixon-Frost interviews**; Staff writer David Moberg examines the future of the **automobile** in an energy-short

era; Bill Tabb reviews **Ralph Nader's book *Taming the Giant Corporation***; and some of our Washington correspondents uncover some sneaky dealing by the Pentagon.

Also, a report on Congressional action on the **Transfer Amendment**, which would have taken money from the Pentagon and given it to human services; a profile of some interesting electoral campaigns in the Southern California area; a look at union and community politics in a steel town; and a roundup of labor activity

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## THE NEW THERAPIES: ROAD TO SALVATION IN THE '70S

## Disorder in the family

By Eli Zaretsky

According to Dr. Russell Lee, a family therapist in Berkeley, Calif., most people who come to therapy do so because of a crisis in a primary relationship—a mate, a parent or a child.

They may explain themselves in language that psychologists expect—"I'm depressed," "I'm confused"—but in fact their apparently personal "symptom" can generally be better understood as a disturbance in their social network.

Family therapists attempt to treat the network rather than the symptom. How this is done varies greatly.

While some work within the psychoanalytic tradition, assessing family relations in terms of unconscious impulses and wishes, most reject psychoanalysis, generally with scorn. According to Dr. Lee, the analyst is interested in repression, the family therapist in oppression—not what an individual does to himself or herself, but what people do to one another. Rather than isolating the individual, the family therapist looks at the system.

This involves the family, and in some cases means bringing together families of origin with current families, sometimes with teams of professionals—doctors and social workers—so that a large number of people can be involved in a single session. But even when the family therapist meets with a single person (and this does happen) the concern is still the context—the system of relationships.

This focus on the interpersonal rather than the individual's psyche has given family therapy a certain respectability among radicals, feminists and others who reject traditional psychological approaches.

#### ►Can't treat just daughter.

Family therapy began with adolescents, especially schizophrenic adolescents, when psychiatrists discovered that their own efforts were being undermined and destroyed by the active intervention of the patient's parents.

Dr. Lee's original glimmering of the family therapy approach is typical. Working as a psychiatrist in New York in the 1950s (before family therapy existed), he was treating a 17-year-old girl for compulsive overeating. Her situation was so serious that she had been hospitalized. Her mother, who proclaimed herself helpless to influence her daughter's behavior, had a letter from a previous psychiatrist announcing that the girl was "psychotic" and was to be hospitalized at any time at the mother's discretion.

Later, the mother was discovered smuggling in cakes and chocolate to her daughter. At this point Dr. Lee realized that it was useless to treat the daughter alone.

The great advances in social and psychological theory made by Gregory Bateson and his co-workers in Palo Alto in the '60s gave the family therapy approach its hints of a new therapeutic approach.

Essentially, Bateson's work forced a constant redirection of attention to the context in which events occur, from the isolated entities that traditional social science seems to study to a system of interdependent relationships.

In psychiatry, Bateson's school produced the "double-bind" theory of schizophrenia, explaining schizophrenia as a disturbance or fluctuation in a mother-child relationship, or within a family, rather than as a "disease" located within the individual.

#### ►Action before insight.

Family therapists focus on the "ecological" system of the family—how one person gets put down, another put up, one scapegoated, and another upgraded—and then attempt to modify the total system,

rather than seeking to change any individual.

Family relations are seen in terms of communication, including "metacommunication" or statements about statements (such as drawing away at the same time as one says "I want to be closer").

The major differences among family therapists tend to be over the extent to which emotions should be "communicated" as part of the family therapy process, or whether the focus should be on practical and cognitive exchange.

Family therapists expect that by changing the context they will force a change in the individual, rather than the other way around. John Bell, one of the originators of family therapy, puts this extremely significant idea this way: "Whereas formerly we assumed that insight ultimately led to action by some unknown process, we have now concluded that action may be seen more fruitfully as coming before insight." Or as Carl Whitaker put it: "You have to go past it to see what it is."

#### ►Open to political ideas.

Traditional therapy puts the actuality of everyday life in brackets, so to speak, in order to focus on the individual's subjective experience. Because of the family therapist's stress on present reality, the field tends to be more open to political and cultural ideas.

For one thing, family therapy is the growing approach in psychotherapy for the working class and the poor. For the

working class it has always been a desperate struggle to maintain family life, given the effects of capitalism on the family. Now those effects are uprooting the middle class family as well and the great growth in family therapy reflects these facts.

When I asked Dr. Lee what were the major problems he encountered among the families he saw, he listed two: first, the rigid role divisions between men who are out of touch with their feelings and their wives who dissolve in confusion rather than deal with a problem in practical terms.

And second, the value conflict between the generations, especially the teenager's complaints about their fathers, complaints which, unacknowledged by them, their mothers share. This is certainly not the subject matter of traditional therapy.

I also asked Dr. Lee what made for a strong family, a successful and happy family life. He said that most family members get into arguments about the nature of reality—what actually happened or is happening. What is more important is to allow oneself to face and acknowledge the *existential* reality, the subjective experience of the other person, putting aside temporarily the question of truth.

#### ►The individual may be ignored.

There is no question that family therapy accomplishes things that individual therapy cannot. But the reverse may also be true. Like most innovators, family therapists tend to make grossly exaggerated

claims for themselves and to hide the gaps and difficulties in their outlook.

• The attention that family therapists pay to the "system" of the family often deflects attention away from the individual. It can reinforce the failings of the family, which is often organized around complementary individual problems: you can be strong, if I can be weak. Where individual therapy can zero in on such problems, family therapy can ignore them.

• The strong bias in family therapy is toward keeping people together, making a couple and a family "work." This involves compromise, bargaining, pluralism, and trade-offs—the general virtues that social scientists ascribe to American culture. But very often the family can be maintained only by holding in check the needs of different individuals within it, especially women and adolescents.

• A real innovation in family therapy is bringing the children into the sessions. Family therapists believe that children should witness the weaknesses, hurts, angers and sexual feelings of their parents. But is this really desirable? Shouldn't children be protected from some of the realities of adult life? The family therapist's approach to children continues the general tendency toward eliminating childhood as a separate time of life.

Eli Zaretsky works on the Childhood and Government Project at the University of California in Berkeley. He is author of *Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life*.



"family portrait"